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DIRK PHILIPS HAS BEEN CALLED BY W. J. KUEHLER THE BEST THEOLOGICAL WRITER of the Dutch Anabaptists. Yet very little has been written on his theology. The essay on his Christology by C. J. Dyck in this issue is a first contribution. Philips and Menno Simons were such close co-workers that a full study of their theology would require a comparative study of the two men. In Christology they are obviously identical in position.

A THOROUGH MIRROR OF THE DEVELOPMENT AND THE CHANGING FORMS OF FAITH and life of a midwestern American Amish Mennonite community in the nineteenth century is presented in this issue by John Umble, whose scholarly and highly interesting accounts of aspects of Amish Mennonite life in America, as well as his accounts of extinct congregations, have filled many pages in past volumes of the REVIEW. His story of "The Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill Amish Mennonite Church, Wayne County, Ohio, in the Nineteenth Century," is more than a skillful piece of local congregational history, interesting as that will be to the modern members of that congregation, as well as to students of Mennonite history in general. It lifts the curtain of the past to give a vivid personalized account of the changing scene in a frontier community, especially of its religious history, its growth, its problems, its trials, and its victories. The transition from the "old order" to the new is spelled out in fascinating detail. The personalities of its two great leaders in this transition, Bishop John K. Yoder, and Preacher Christian Z. Yoder, dominate the changing scene. Choice items of candid reminiscence and insight regarding almost forgotten practices and problems illuminate what might otherwise easily become only a pedestrian ecclesiastical history.

Oak Grove was one of the outstanding Amish Mennonite congregations of the nineteenth century and John K. Yoder probably the most able Amish Mennonite leader of his time. Both congregation and man well deserve the splendid account which Umble has given of them.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF DIRK PHILIPS

CORNELIUS J. DYCK*

Dese (Christus) is de eerste gheborene aller Creatueren, een Heere over alle Vorstendommen ende ghewelt, die door hem gheschapen zijn, een hooft zijner Ghemeynte, een licht der weerelt, wie hem navolcht, die en sal niet wandelen in der duysternisse, maar sal hebben dat licht des eevwigen levens.[1]

These words suggest the basic feeling and mind from which the life and work of Dirk Philips must be interpreted. An awareness of this spiritual orientation is likewise essential for a proper understanding of the evangelical Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. For them Christ was indeed the Son of God, "the Lord of all principali-

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1 Dirk Philips, "Een verantwoordinge op twee Sendtbrieven Sebastiani Franck, door D. P.," *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica*, X (edited by Dr. F. J. Pijper, The Hague, 1914) 496. Dirk Philips was born near Leeuwarden, Friesland, in 1504, the son of a local priest. Little is known of his early life. As a young man he became a member of a Franciscan monastery near Leeuwarden for a time, where he undoubtedly received some of his formal education. There is uncertainty as to whether he later studied at Wittenberg. From his writings it seems clear that he knew Greek and Latin and possibly Hebrew. It is believed that this education was considered greater by his contemporaries than that of his brother Obbe who was a medical doctor. Through Pieter Houtsagher he was won to the Melchiorite Anabaptist cause and baptized in the winter of 1533-34. In 1536 he was ordained an elder of the church by his brother Obbe.

Philips soon became a recognized leader beginning in 1537 by defending the Anabaptist cause in the Hamburg debates with the Lutherans Johan Garthen and Jochim Kükenbiter. Together with Menno Simons he traveled much throughout northern and western Europe, eventually assembling leadership of the Anabaptists in the Vistula Delta. After Menno's death in 1561 he is considered to have been the most influential Anabaptist leader of that time until his own death in 1568. He was particularly effective through his writings, some of which were translated into German and French. His writings contain no references to other Anabaptist writings and only rarely a reference to the other reformers. It is believed that all his major works are extant and included in Volume X of the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* (1914). Several of his writings have undergone numerous reprints in German and have also been translated into English. The Amish profess a special interest in Philips, partly because of his strict attitude toward the ban. It should be remembered in this connection, however, that he was very much opposed to the Münsterite movement and the Oldeklooster incidents of 1535. Through discipline he hoped to prevent the infiltration of these chiliastic ideas into the Dutch Anabaptist group.

ties and powers," the "head of his church," and "the light of the world." And out of this faith came the final emphasis on discipleship as Philips wrote: "He who follows me will not walk in darkness, but will have the light of life" (John 8:12). The strongest dimension of their faith found expression in pious living and ethical sensitivity. As one of that group Dirk Philips was not primarily concerned with formulating a systematic theology. His occasional references to "the learned" (*de geleerden*) imply a certain aloofness from them and may indicate his spiritual ancestry as a Franciscan.[2] It cannot be claimed that Philips was opposed to academic theological inquiry but the view can be defended that he was convinced of some very definite limitations of formal learning.[3]

Whether this hesitancy of Philips to engage in theological definition, seen especially also in Menno Simons, was due to a humble feeling of personal inadequacy in the face of great responsibility, or attributable to other factors is difficult to determine. It may well have been a natural expression of the ethos of sixteenth-century Anabaptism following the initial waves of persecution and its appeal to particular sections of the social structure; or it may have been the result of a certain affinity with folk piety and Middle Age monasticism as Ritschl suggests.[4] Another source of this attitude could well have been the constant persecutions and through them the loss of leadership. The ever-present threat of fanatical extremism from without and within was also not without effect. Perhaps elements of all of these factors helped to mold a certain theological timidity within the Anabaptist fold which, when added to strict Biblicism and its consequent discipleship motif, gave them the appearance of confusion and well-meaning ignorance.[5]

2 "Van Der Doope" *BRN* 10:47, 83, etc.

3 In his refutation of the two Sebastian Franck letters Dirk Philips states that he is writing at the express request of the brethren and that he does not consider himself suited to the task because of his weakness and much work (*BRN* 10:483). The weakness may have reference to physical inability, but the impression is given that he was not happy with this assignment. Menno Simons showed definite reticence in regard to this burden placed upon him by virtue of his leadership. He seems to have felt great theological timidity while formulating his doctrine of Christology at the request of John á Lasco. He wrote: "When for the first time, beloved Lords, friends, and brethren, the incarnation of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ was discussed with me, I was greatly troubled in my heart lest I err and be found in unbelief before God. Because of this matter I have often been so troubled in my conscience, even after baptism, that for many days I could neither eat nor drink, but cried amid tears that God in His mercy and grace would reveal to me, though poor and sinful, as much of the mystery of the incarnation of His blessed Son as would be necessary for the glory of His name and the comfort of my conscience" (Menno Simons, *Opera Omnia Theologica*, Amsterdam, 1681, 525).

4 "Hingegen ist es evident, dass die Motive und Ziele, die Mittel und die einzelnen Regeln der Wiedertaüferei sämtlich die Linie des Mittelalters innebehalten, und ihre nächsten Analogieen in jenem Zeitalter finden." Albrecht Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, I (Bonn, 1880) 24.

5 See, e.g., Simons, *Opera Omnia Theologica*, 357, where Menno defends himself against John á Lasco's charge that Menno's "simplicity is not simplicity but much rather ignorance." Menno here freely admits that as far as "human skill and wisdom" goes "I know nothing," but concerning "heavenly wisdom" he felt himself abundantly "taught of God."

Dirk Philips wrote his *Enchiridion* to guide the faithful and to refute false charges.[6] His writings are not polemical. In them the subjects of baptism, the Lord's Supper, the ban, and restitution are prominent, and not Christology as such, but these and others of his writings contain pertinent Christological references and several chapters are devoted to Christology. What seem to be his basic assumptions on this subject follow briefly:

> We confess the Lord Jesus Christ as the first-born, only begotten and true Son of the Father Almighty, the living God, and believe that in this Jesus Christ are two natures, a godly nature and a human nature. According to His godly nature He is the Word of which John writes: "In the beginning was the Word . . ." (John 1:1). . . . According to this godly nature He is also . . . a ray of eternal light, an image of the invisible God. . . . But according to His human nature . . . the Word become flesh. How this occurred is recorded in the Gospels thus, that the Holy Spirit came upon Mary. . . .[7] Therefore we believe and confess . . . that Jesus Christ is truly God and man.[8]

Following this confession Philips asserts: "From all this we can see clearly that Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of the living God, was not born of human seed (*dat doch onreyn is*) but through the eternal, abiding seed of God; in Mary He became man through the work and power of the Holy Spirit."[9] "Yes, God Himself became man." "But that the Scriptures call Christ of the seed of the woman does not disturb us, and which we explain thus."[10] It is here that Philips first clearly indicates his rejection of the doctrine that Christ was by His human nature of the substance of Mary, that He was both fully divine by the Holy Spirit and fully human by physical, human birth: *Deum verum de Deo-vero . . . et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine; et homo factus est.*[11]

First, argues Philips, if Christ was of the flesh and blood of Mary, there was no difference between the body of Christ and of Adam: "But if the body of Christ were made of Mary (as the world supposes and so mistakenly speaks of it) there would be no difference between the body of Christ and Adam."[12] The reason is simply this: since the fall of man the earth is sinful; if Christ had been made of the "dust of the earth" (through Mary), His body would have been sinful. Then His death would have been for His own sin and not for the sins of others.

6 *Enchiridion, BRN* 10:57.

7 "Bekentenisse van Godt," *BRN* 10:61.

8 "Menschwerdinge Iesu Christi" *BRN* 10:139.

9 *Ibid., BRN* 10:140.

10 *Ibid., BRN* 10:144.

11 *The Nicean Creed,* A.D. 325.

12 "Menschwerdinge Iesu Christi" *BRN* 10:140. By "the world" he seems to be referring to the Roman Church. See pp. 45, 106, 110, 114, 265, etc.

Second, the Scriptural passages which speak of Christ being born of the seed of woman are figurative references. Thus the Scriptures speak of Christ as the vine (John 15:1) and the cornerstone (I Cor. 10:4) and many other similar references which can obviously not be taken literally but must be understood allegorically. That Christ was born of the seed of woman (Gen. 3:15) must be similarly understood.

Third, the Scriptures which speak of Christ being of the seed of Abraham (Gen. 22:18; Gal. 3:8) must also be understood figuratively. Isaac is a type of the Christ, for as in him God fulfilled His promise to Abraham, so in Christ to all men. Christ must be understood as the spiritual son of Abraham, "but he is a natural seed of the spiritual Abraham."[13] If this is not taken spiritually and Christ is considered descended from Abraham of human seed, it follows that man was helped by God through his own seed—man saved himself. But God did not save fallen man through fallen man. Abraham was a type of God, Sara of the New Testament, and Isaac of Christ. Rom. 4:3; Gal. 4:22.

Fourth, Christ is the new Adam (I Cor. 15:45), the living bread come down from heaven (John 6:51), the word of life become flesh (John 1:1) through the Holy Spirit. All these and similar Scriptures must be violated if Christ is of the seed of the woman and of Abraham. Did Christ Himself not say, "If David then called him Lord, how is he his son" (Matt. 22:45)? The same Scriptures that call Him born of woman also say that He was made sin for us (II Cor. 5:21); yet we know that Christ did not sin.

Fifth, some argue from Hebrews 2:11 that Christ was born of human flesh and thus can call all men brothers. But this again is spiritual, and the principle remains that one Scripture must give way before many (*een sprueck sal vele spruecken wijcken*).[14] Paul himself said that in our flesh there dwelleth no good thing. Rom. 7:18. Christ, being born of Mary through the power of the Holy Ghost, is the natural Son of God; we, His brothers, become sons by adoption.

But from all this Philips anticipates a question, perhaps to ward off possible charges of docetism: "If Christ was not of the human substance of Mary, how was it possible for Him to suffer and die?" He answers with a counter-question: "If the flesh of Christ is from the earth and earthly, yes from Adam and his seed, how did God's Word become flesh? How then could Christ do enough to pay for all our sins?"[15] Should someone then ask whether God died, the answer is that not the Father, nor the Holy Spirit, but the Son died for our

13 "Menschwerdinge Iesu Christi," *BRN* 10:145.
14 *Ibid.*, *BRN* 10:148.
15 *Ibid.*, *BRN* 10:150.

sins. Yet in Christ God appeared. That Mary did not give of her flesh to Christ but was merely the bearer of divine presence is affirmed not only by the Scriptures but also by many bishops and teachers who unitedly decided against Nestorius.[16]

The eternal existence of Christ was emphasized. Christ was the Son of God from eternity and in the latter time (*laetster Tijt*) He became man. "He who does not confess both the eternal Godhead and true humanity of Christ, the Son of God, is an antichrist. . . . Therefore it is not enough that we confess Jesus Christ as Son of the living God, conceived in Mary through the Holy Ghost, and born of her as truly man, etc. But we must together confess Him as the eternal word and the imperishable seed of God, the eternal Father."[17]

It becomes evident from the preceding that Dirk Philips was at least self-contradictory if not also confused in his Christological thinking. His problem seems to have been his inability to conceive of Christ as being completely human in a physical sense as well as completely divine, without taking on the sins of humanness with His human nature and thus becoming ineffective as the Redeemer. In reading his entire writings it is clear that his occasional "orthodox" Christological statements do not represent his real thinking, although he may have thought that they did. Perhaps one could say that the human nature of Christ is by him denied theologically but not confessionally and ethically. It would be difficult to hold a discipleship motif while denying the humanity of Christ.

The background for this position of Philips is of great interest. There is sufficient evidence to believe that he did not develop this doctrine on his own but rather that he received it from none other than Melchior Hofmann. Hofmann was known for his radical views, having vacillated between Carlstadt, Zwingli, and others before joining the Anabaptist ranks in 1529. He was an effective preacher, even being court preacher at Kiel for a time. Thousands were won to his doctrines and for several years he exerted a leading influence on the radical masses of the Lowlands and Northern Germany. Dirk Philips heard Hofmann preach from time to time and soon after hearing him in 1532 he also joined the Anabaptists.[18] Jer. de Vries writes of Hofmann: "His teaching of the incarnation of Christ occupied the minds and warmed the hearts of the Dutch Anabaptist (*Doopsgezinde*)

16 *Ibid.*, *BRN* 10:151. It is not clear whether or not Philips fully understood the issues which had confronted Nestorius. Nestorius argued against *Theotokos*. A human mother could not give the divine nature to the Logos and the divinity of Christ did therefore not originate from Mary. J. L. Neve, *A History of Christian Thought* (Phila., 1946) 1:132.

17 "Menschwerdinge Jesu Christi," *BRN* 10:152.

18 Jer. de Vries, "Een tijdperk van vloed en tranen, 1530-1559," *Geschriftjes ten Behoeve van de Doopsgezinden in de Verstooiing*, No. 21, ed. by Algemeene Doopsgezinde Societeit, 1897, 6.

world for a decade."[19] Through his study of the Scriptures Hofmann claimed to find that the Eternal Word was changed into flesh and blood in Mary without partaking of her substance. Thus he could emphasize the redemptive activity of Christ as being accomplished entirely "through the Eternal Word of God." His views were heard at a synod presided over by Martin Bucer in Strasbourg on June 11, 1533. Schwenckfeld was also heard. The similarity of these views to those of Philips as he later expressed them indicates more than coincidence. Hofmann argued that the "likeness of sinful flesh" (Rom. 8:3) did not mean the "same flesh." John 1:14 states that "the Word became flesh," not "took on flesh." If Christ was of Mary's flesh, man saved himself. In I Corinthians 15 Paul states that the first man was from the earth and earthy but the second (Christ) was from heaven and heavenly. Thus Paul too supported him, said Hofmann.[20] This interpretation was carried on without modification by both Dirk Philips and Menno Simons, though they rejected much of Hofmann's radicalism in other areas of faith.[21]

While this can with reasonable certainty be considered the prime source of this position with Philips, a contributing factor is also found in his principles of Biblical interpretation. His method seems to combine strict literalism with the allegorical approach. It can be seen, for example, that his literalism led him from the Fall with its consequent corruption of all flesh to a rejection of the human nature of Christ through Mary, especially in the light of the then prevalent views of the sinfulness of procreation. His allegorical method causes the modern reader considerable difficulty, for the line of demarcation between what is allegory and what is really implied in the Scriptures is not easily drawn by the sincere seeker. Historically the Anabaptist literalism has usually kept them from allegorism. In struggling with this problem Philips faced particular difficulties in his *Van de Geestlijcke Restitution.* There seems to be little in the Old Testament that does not have a prophetic relationship to Christ, and the unfulfilled phases of the New Covenant since Christ's incarnation have an eschatological dimension. In all things Christ is seen as the restitution of the early, God-pleasing order. Noah, the preacher of righteousness, was a type of Christ; Egypt is analogous to this sinful world as Canaan is to heaven; Samson is a type of Christ, for even as he destroyed the portals of Gaza, so Christ uprooted the gates of hell. Just as a desertion from Solomon's kingdom took place under

19 *Ibid.*, "Het Heil van de Daad," No. 32, 3.

20 Barthold N. Krohn, *Geschichte der fanatischen und enthusiastischen Wiedertäufer: Melchior Hofmann und die Sekte der Hofmannianer* (Leipzig, 1758) 292.

21 Dirk Philips and his brother Obbe were responsible for winning Menno to Anabaptism and for his assumption of the leadership. Philips' disavowal of spiritualism, e.g., is verified by a thirty-page refutation of the Sebastian Franck writings. *BRN* 10:473 ff.

Jeroboam, so the kingdom of Christ will suffer desertion in the latter days; just as the temple Solomon built was within the walls of Jerusalem, so the church of Christ is within the walls of the heavenly city; just as God created man, so Christ creates the new man, etc.[22] While some of these have been accepted historically as legitimate, the question as to which is a right and which a wrong way of interpretation and application is vital. How far can one go in this method without violating the intent of the Scriptures? Yet Philips' intention was sincere and his attitude to the Scriptures reverent. In his refutation addressed to Sebastian Franck he states that it is important first of all to have a sure criterion by which to measure truth and error, and he adds: "But the only testing stone and the only plumbline is God's Word, and the only foundation is Jesus Christ."[23]

At this point another possibility may be suggested. Is it possible that Socinianism with its denial of the divinity of Christ may in some way have influenced the Anabaptists already during the time of Dirk Philips and caused him to react even more against any humanizing of Christ? It is an historical fact that the Socinians of Holland made several overtures for union to the Dutch Anabaptists during the last two decades of the sixteenth century.[24] These were rejected, but their influence upon some of the Anabaptists cannot be denied. Philips died in 1568, having spent most of his last twenty years in the Vistula delta. Socinianism first came to that area in 1551 when Lelio Sozzini visited Poland. Whether Juan de Valdes played an even earlier role in this Anabaptist reaction through his anti-Trinitarianism and to what extent the Anabaptists of other places were influenced by him, either in accepting his views or more probably in reacting against them, needs further investigation.[25]

Finally, the Christological problem was not an isolated problem for Philips but central to his entire approach, especially also to his concept of the church. Christ is the new Adam[26] and bears no likeness to the first Adam. In the same way the church of believers is separated from other sinful men and bears no likeness to them.[27] Thus the difference between the believer and the unbeliever is seen in the

22 "Van de Geestlijcke Restitution," *BRN* 10:341-76.

23 "Antwoort op de twee brieven Sebastiani Franck," *BRN* 10:493. With Philips there seemed to be a holy fear of violating the Word of God. With him, as with many Anabaptist descendants to this day, I Cor. 3:11 is theologically vital.

24 W. J. Kühler, *Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinden in Nederland* II (Haarlem, 1940) 14 ff., 177 ff.

25 It is impossible adequately to investigate any phenomenon of the Reformation era without taking into account the pendulum law of action and reaction. Dirk Philips' emphasis upon the ban, for example, must be seen in part in the light of his fear of Münsterism and other extremists like Adam Pastor. Luther's theology, for example, cannot be studied adequately without keeping in mind the theological thinking of groups both to this theological left and right.

26 "Van de Kennissee Jesu Christi," *BRN* 10:166.

27 "Van Gods Ghemeynte," *BRN* 10:386, 369.

contrasting records of Genesis 2-3 and of Luke 2. The Church of Christ is the new Jerusalem come down from heaven *(van den Hemel af gecomen),* and Christians are not of this world even as Christ is not of this world. The relationship of Christ to His own then does not lie so much in the fact that He took on their human nature but in that He gives to them His new nature. Hence also the emphasis upon a "pure" church.

Thus for Philips God is the Father of Christ according to His divine manifestation. Mary is the mother of Christ in the sense that she was selected to give Him birth, but she did not give Him of her flesh and blood. God must, therefore, also be taken as having miraculously given to Christ His human manifestation. In a sense this is reminiscent of Manichaeism.[28] This eliminates the necessity of declaring Mary sinless. It also relieves the conflict over the two natures of Christ and their relation to each other. While Philips confesses to the two natures of Christ in one person, he believed so firmly in the Fall, the corruption of man with biological transmission of sin, and that no one partaking of human flesh could be sinless, that the human nature of Christ is denied theologically if not confessionally as the only way out. It is interesting to note in this connection that J. L. Neve quotes Harnack as saying: "No single outstanding church teacher (early church) really accepted the humanity in an unqualified way."[29] Yet for Philips Christ was a present reality, a companion,[30] a real strength in persecution as well as Saviour and Lord. Nowhere are the historical Gospel facts of the earthly life of Jesus denied or misconstrued. The Anabaptist discipleship ethic would make a denial of Christ's humanity extremely inconsistent.

From this theological denial of the human nature of Christ the question arises which Philips himself anticipated: "If Christ did not receive His flesh and blood from Mary, how was it possible for Him to die?"[31] His answer is that Christ died according to the flesh but was made alive according to the spirit. I Peter 3:18. Yet with the theological denial that Christ was "of the seed of Abraham" His redemptive activity is called into question. A complete redemption requires a human as well as a divine Christ. Christ had to become man to bring mankind to God (though it is wrong to believe that Christ did not save whatever He did not assume); "one who in every respect has been tempted as we are" (Heb. 4:15). For Philips the sinlessness of Christ is only fully guaranteed if he was free from the influence of human flesh at birth. This would, in a sense, link the efficacy of

28 Menno Simons ascribes both the Fatherhood and the Motherhood to the Holy Spirit. *Opera,* 381 ff.
29 J. L. Neve, *op. cit.,* 125.
30 "Een Liefelijcke Vermaninge," *BRN* 10:459.
31 "Menschwerdinge Jesu Christi," *BRN* 10:150.

Christ's redemptive work to His physical or nonphysical attributes and not to His being the only Son of Almighty God. The word "incarnation" expresses both the divine activity of God and provides the key to the human activity of Christ. In it is seen the self-revelation of God. If Philips' position had been pressed to its logical conclusion, it would have led to a questioning of the real meaning of the incarnation and the efficacy of the cross. Yet his writings make it clear that nothing was further from his mind. Nevertheless, whereas the Scriptures carry many references to Christ's human attributes (John 8:40; I Tim. 2:6; I John 4:2; John 11:33; Matt. 11:19, etc.), though without an apparent attempt to reconcile them with the divine attributes (e.g., Gal. 4:4; Heb. 2:14), Philips does not incorporate them extensively into his generous Scriptural quotations.

The Christological problem was not peculiar to Dirk Philips nor to the Anabaptists. In some measure it has been with the church since Pentecost. Yet the Christological statement formulated in 451 is still largely accepted by Christendom of both East and West. Philips would possibly not have been welcome at Chalcedon.

While it is true that Anabaptism struggled with this problem in the sixteenth century, it was not as vital to them as some other issues. They simply believed that Christ was the Son of God and died for them. Neither Philips nor Menno should be taken as representative of the Anabaptist thinking of that time. The South German Anabaptists, for example, met on August 24, 1555, at Strasbourg to seek unity on this matter and agreed that "perhaps we seek to know more than we should." Their conclusion was: "We confess Him (Christ) with Peter, Martha, and the circumcised as Son of the living Father . . . the Word become flesh . . . the Word that dwelt among us."[32] That the *Schleitheim Confession of Faith,* adopted by the Swiss Brethren in 1527, does not make reference to Christology at all may indicate that it was not a problem for them at that time.[33] The Waterlander statement of faith drafted by Hans de Ries possibly in 1577 in Article Six accepts the orthodox formula of the two natures in one Person.[34] Christ was completely God and completely man.

The concluding sentence of Philips' "Menschwerdinge Jesu Christi" indicates his pious "non-theological" faith dimension:

> Therefore we would remind you who call yourselves Christian, that you so know Christ, so believe in Him, and so receive Him, that in the last day Christ may accept you as His brother, sister, and mother before God and His angels, and receive you into His kingdom.[35]

32 S. Blaupot ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden* (Leeuwarden, 1842) 255.
33 *The Schleitheim Confession of Faith,* or "Bruederlich vereynigung etzlicher Kinder Gottes, sieben Artikel betreffend." Reprinted in *MQR* (October 1945) 19:243-53.
34 S. Blaupot ten Cate, *op. cit., Supplement* 4, 268 ff.
35 "Menschwerdinge Jesu Christi," *BRN* 10:153.

THE OAK GROVE–PLEASANT HILL AMISH MENNONITE CHURCH IN WAYNE COUNTY, OHIO, IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (1815-1900)

John Umble

THE EARLY SETTLEMENT

Wayne county is the home of one of the largest and most varied Mennonite communities in Ohio. In no other part of the state did Pennsylvania Amish, Pennsylvania Mennonites, Alsatian Amish, and Swiss Mennonites settle in the same neighborhood and promote such a varied church life. Not only were the three groups present in the county, but they were neighbors living in part in the same townships and in the same immediate neighborhoods. The Pennsylvania Amish arrived first, beginning in 1815, coming from Somerset and Mifflin counties and settling in Green, Milton, and Wayne townships where they laid the basis for the Oak Grove congregation, the subject of the present sketch.[1]

A little later Mennonites from the Franconia conference district in eastern Pennsylvania came to the vicinity of Mt. Eaton and held their membership with the group which later built the Kolb's and Longenecker's meetinghouses in Holmes county. About the same time Mennonites from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, settled in the far northern and western areas of the county. Those in the north became a part of the former Guilford and the present Bethel congregations in Medina county. At a later date (about 1871) most of these congregations came to be affiliated with the Wisler Mennonite church. In this area also emerged the Church of God in Christ Mennonite in 1859. About 1830 a new settlement of Lancaster county Mennonites began in Baughman and Sugar Creek townships southeast of Orrville. The first of these was the Mennonite minister, William Westheffer, founder of the Martins congregation. A few transferred their membership to the Salem Mennonite congregation east of Wooster when that congregation was established in 1891 by David Hostetler, a former minister of the Oak Grove congregation. In 1819 Mennonites from Switzerland arrived in Sugar Creek township in what is now the center of the Sonnenberg, Salem, and Kidron congregations. Another group of Swiss Mennonites settled in Milton and Chippewa townships near the present Crown Hill meetinghouse.

1 Some of these were related by ties of kinship and friendship to the Amish near Walnut Creek in Holmes county.

Even before 1850 both the Amish and Mennonite congregations in Wayne county lost members to the Brethren in Christ church (River Brethren) who held services in the Paradise Union meetinghouse in the southern part of Green township and at Geyers Chapel northwest of Smithville.[2] Elias Schrock, son of Peter Schrock one of the early founders of the Oak Grove congregation, was one of the two River Brethren ministers.[3] The "Neu Täufer" (Apostolic Christian Church) in Milton township also gained a few adherents from Amish and Swiss Mennonite families but most of their members belong to a later immigration of Swiss settlers.[4]

The first settlers in Green township seem to have been Thomas Boydston and Michael Thomas who arrived in 1811. In 1815 the first Amish settler, David Stutzman of Somerset county, Pennsylvania, purchased the quarter section southwest of the present location of the Crown Hill church. These early settlers, including the Amish, lived in log huts with puncheon floors and oiled paper windows. All furniture was homemade, usually split—not sawed—from native timber and ingeniously held together with dowel pins and butterfly wedges. Deer and other kinds of game were sufficiently plentiful during the early years to do considerable damage to growing crops. Occasionally Indians were seen walking along the creeks on the settlers' farms. Roads for the most part were Indian trails. The road which is now part of Route Three, running from Wooster to Akron, was not opened until 1824. Wayne county had no railroad before 1850.

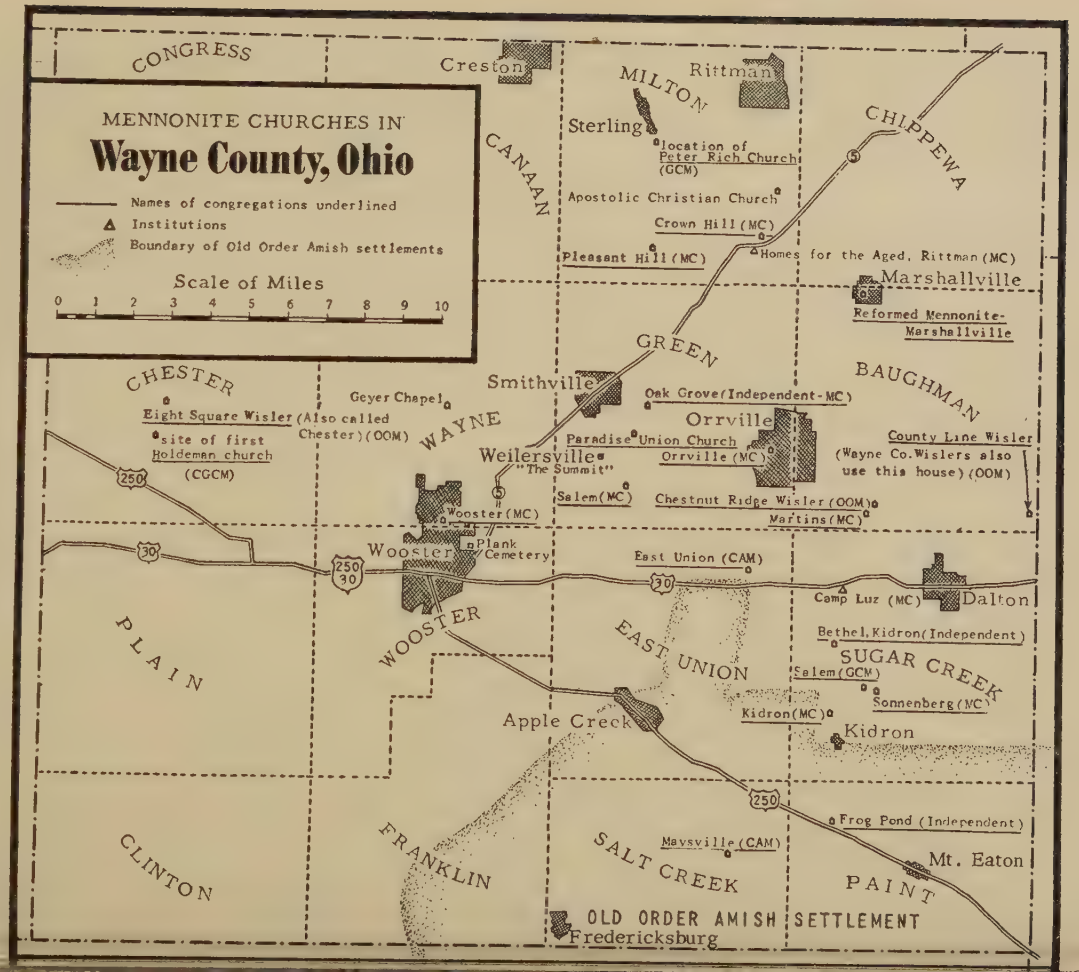
The second Amish settler was Henry Yoder who came from Somerset county, Pennsylvania, in 1816, and purchased a quarter section near to that of David Stutzman. He signed his name "Hendrich Joder." In July, 1817, John Schrock purchased from the government the quarter section which now includes the northeast part of the village of Smithville. This John Schrock may not have moved to Wayne county.[5] He and his wife, Mattie, sold this same tract to Peter

2 With the coming of the more aggressive Dunkards (Church of the Brethren), the River Brethren young people failed to unite with their own group, the Brethren in Christ Church, as it is now called.

3 The River Brethren elder, Elias Schrock, was the son of the Wayne county Amish preacher, Peter Schrock, and was born on the old homestead in Green township near Smithville, May 16, 1829; he died May 28, 1896. His wife, Elizabeth, was a daughter of the early Amish settler, Henry Stutzman. They lived near Geyer's schoolhouse in Wayne township where the River Brethren alternated their services with those which they conducted at the Paradise Union church south of Smithville. Following his conversion as a young man, Elias Schrock united with the River Brethren and in 1875 was ordained to the ministry and later as an elder. He and the River Brethren minister, Samuel Longenecker, several times attended Mennonite and Amish Mennonite conferences when they were held in Wayne county. Their congregation died out but the one organized in the south part of Ashland county about the same time as the one in Wayne county still continues. In Ashland county the River Brethren made serious, or rather disastrous, inroads on the Mennonite congregations. (See "Extinct [Ashland County] Ohio Mennonite Churches," in *MQR* [January 1945] 19:50-55.)

4 The "Neu Täufer" group was led by "Black" Dan Steiner and Moses Blough who had married Burkholder sisters and accordingly were related by marriage to the Gerig family.

5 Because the purchase of western lands does not always mean settlement, it is difficult to


MENNONITE CHURCHES IN
Wayne County, Ohio
Names of congregations underlined
Institutions
Boundary of Old Order Amish settlements
Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
CONGRESS
Creston
MILTON
Rittman
Sterling
location of Peter Rich Church (GCM)
CANAAN
CHIPPEWA
Apostolic Christian Church
Crown Hill (MC)
Pleasant Hill (MC)
Homes for the Aged, Rittman (MC)
Marshallville
Reformed Mennonite-Marshallville
GREEN
BAUGHMAN
CHESTER
Smithville
Oak Grove (Independent-MC)
Geyer Chapel
Eight Square Wisler (Also called Chester) (OOM)
site of first Holdeman church (CGCM)
WAYNE
Orrville
Paradise Union Church
Orrville (MC)
County Line Wisler (Wayne Co. Wislers also use this house) (OOM)
Weilersville "The Summit"
Salem (MC)
Chestnut Ridge Wisler (OOM)
Martins (MC)
Wooster (MC)
Wooster
Plank Cemetery
East Union (CAM)
Camp Luz (MC)
Dalton
PLAIN
WOOSTER
EAST UNION
Bethel, Kidron (Independent)
SUGAR CREEK
Salem (GCM)
Sonnenberg (MC)
Apple Creek
Kidron (MC)
Kidron
Frog Pond (Independent)
CLINTON
FRANKLIN
Maysville (CAM)
SALT CREEK
Mt. Eaton
PAINT
OLD ORDER AMISH SETTLEMENT
Fredericksburg

Schrock of Brothers Valley township, Somerset county, in 1829.[6] In 1818 John Stutzman purchased a quarter section southeast of the present location of the East Chippewa (Brethren) church. In March, 1818, John Stutzman of Brothers Valley township, Somerset county, sold to David Stutzman half of the half section which he had earlier bought from the government.[7] This John Stutzman and his wife, Sarah, were living in Green township in July, 1830, when they sold two and a half acres to Henry Stutzman. This half section is located a mile and a half east and a mile north of the present location of the Oak Grove church.

In July, 1818, Christian Yoder of Somerset county purchased the quarter section lying across the road from the Pleasant Hill church. David Stutzman, in 1819, bought the quarter section one and one-half miles north of the present location of the Oak Grove church. In August, 1819, John Fortenwald (*sic*, for Vordemwald, later spelled Farmwald) purchased a quarter section where the East Chippewa church now stands.[8] In October of the same year Abraham Schrock (wife Susanna) of Somerset county purchased from the government a quarter section one-half mile south of Smithville. Thirty-five years later he sold this tract for seven thousand dollars. Christian Lantz in September, 1824, acquired title to a quarter section

determine from the early records of land purchases recorded in the courthouse, who were settlers and who were merely investors. Sometimes a Pennsylvania purchaser was still (or again?) living in Pennsylvania when he sold several years later. An Abraham Kurtz purchased an entire section (Section 25) in Green township in 1818. He sold half of it to a Jonathan Zook in 1820, but according to Douglas he did not move to Wayne county until 1830. Another confusing factor in determining whether a purchaser was an actual settler was the practice of borrowers deeding their farm to a moneylender without indicating the provisional nature of the transfer. That is, early property deeds seem not always to distinguish between a sale of property and what is now known as a mortgage deed.

6 Peter Schrock, an Amish preacher in the south district of the Wayne county congregation before the meetinghouse was built, was born in Somerset county, Pennsylvania, in 1795. He was the youngest son of the immigrants, Caspar and Mary (Stuckey) Schrock, he from Switzerland and she from Germany. In 1818 Peter Schrock joined the Amish westward movement and settled temporarily in Holmes county. Soon afterward he married Sarah Miller, daughter of Yost Miller of that county. A short time after their marriage they moved to a 123-acre farm near Smithville, Wayne county, Ohio. Here they reared a family of eight children, all of whom grew to maturity and married. Peter Schrock was preaching at the Sunday morning church service in May, 1846, in the barn of an adjoining neighbor, Jonas Smucker, when he suddenly became ill and was carried into the house. In order to quiet the fears of the worshipers other ministers continued the service, but Schrock died about thirty minutes after he was stricken. See Silvanus Yoder, *A Brief History . . . Peter Schrock* (Scottdale, 1923) 19. Caspar and Mary Schrock were the parents of ten children, one daughter and nine sons. Michael, Abraham, and one of the two Jacob Schrocks living in Green township in 1840 may have been brothers of the Peter Schrock mentioned above. Some of them, however, may have been the sons of Benedicht Schrag (later Schrock).

7 That these Stutzman families may have been more conservative than some others may be inferred from their complete disappearance from the Wayne county Amish Mennonite church membership. Bishop Hannes Yoder and Preacher Emanuel Hochstetler, who withdrew from the Green township Amish congregation about 1850 or earlier in protest against the introduction of certain innovations, both had married daughters of the early Stutzman families.

8 This John Fortenwald may have been the Hannes Fordemwald who on May 25, 1830, with Hannes Yoder signed a counsel (*Rath*) agreeing with certain Somerset county Amish bishops not to receive Mennonites as members of an Amish congregation without rebaptism by an Amish bishop. For several decades this issue caused bitter controversy between the eastern and western Amish bishops, that is, those in Wayne county and those in Pennsylvania, the former being inclined to take a more liberal view.

lying north of the Paradise Union cemetery. He and John Zook donated the land for that cemetery.

The Somerset and Mifflin county Amish came to Wayne county at about the same time. In January, 1815, John Zook of Mifflin county acquired title to a quarter section west of the present location of the Crown Hill church and north of the present state highway, Route Five. This John Zook and his wife, Catharine, continued to buy land for several years and had extensive holdings in Green township.[9] David Zook, also of Mifflin county, purchased a quarter section a mile west of Georgetown in Green township in 1824. He seems to have been a resident of the county at that time. Abraham Kurtz of Mifflin county purchased from the government in 1818 all of Section 25 in Baughman township, now a part of Orrville. In February of the same year Jacob Plank of Mifflin county purchased a quarter section five miles east and two miles north of Orrville. This, he and his wife sold five years later to a certain Jacob Conrad. A Martin Conrad also settled north of Orrville at an early date.

Christian Brandt, ordained a preacher in Switzerland, came to Wayne county in 1818 from Mifflin county to which he had migrated the year before.[10] In 1818 he purchased the northeast quarter of Section 21, which became the site of the Oak Grove church. In August, 1818, another Swiss immigrant, Benedicht Schrag, purchased a quarter section lying just south of the Smithville-Orrville road at the southeast corner of the present village of Smithville. He also owned a quarter section lying east of the village. At an early date he sold part of his land adjacent to, and southeast of, Smithville to John Burkholder.[11] In 1820 Stephen Lantz, presumably from Mifflin county, and his wife Nancy purchased a quarter section north of the Paradise cemetery from the United States government. Stephen Lantz and his wife sold this land to Samuel Lantz in 1825 for three hundred and twenty dollars. About the same time Solomon Yoder purchased a quarter section on what is now state Route Five about two miles northeast of Smithville.

9 John Zook was the father of twelve children. He is said to have been an excellent manager, and in the course of a few years to have become the owner of thirteen quarter sections of land. As each of his children came of age he gave them the choice of a quarter section of land or one thousand dollars.

10 Preacher Christian Brandt, ordained to the ministry in Switzerland, and Benedicht Schrag sailed for America in the same vessel in 1817. See Delbert Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists* (Scottdale, 1953) 129. A certain Jacob Schrock who came to Somerset county from Switzerland in 1816 probably was one of the Jacob Schrocks living in Green township, Wayne county, in 1840. He was a son of Benedicht. It was the letters of Benedicht Schrag to his friends in Switzerland that started the stream of Swiss Mennonites who founded the Sonnenberg settlement in Ohio. Gratz thinks that eight of Benedicht Schrag's children, together with his wife, accompanied him when he migrated to Ohio in 1817. There seems to be no genealogical record of this family and its descendants.

11 John Burkholder (he signed his name Hannes Burghalter) was a son of Christen and Anna (Schrag) Burghalter and a nephew of Benedicht Schrag. He married his first cousin, Barbara, a daughter of Benedicht.

By way of summary of the preceding: Peter, Abraham, and Jacob Schrock from Somerset county and Benedicht Schrag (later also spelled Schrock) settled in the vicinity of Smithville in 1818. In the same year David Zook, Christian Brandt, Christian Lantz, and Jacob Yoder[12] from Mifflin county also purchased land in Green township. John Zook had come earlier from Mifflin county and had located just southeast of the Paradise Union church. On December 25, 1824, he and Christian Lantz, his neighbor joining him on the north, donated the land for the Paradise cemetery where many of the early settlers of the community lie buried. These early purchasers, and possibly other Amish settlers who lacked sufficient money to buy land even at the prevailing low price, formed the nucleus of the present Oak Grove Amish Mennonite congregation. Many of them had sold their property in the older eastern settlements where land values already were higher and had come to reinvest in the cheaper "western lands" where promise of canals offered good future markets for farm produce. It should also be noted that the economic depression following 1818 seriously affected agricultural prices on the frontier, and must have added greatly to the hardships of many of these pioneers.

THE CONGREGATION: EARLY MINISTERS

The Amish settlers organized a congregation as soon as they arrived in their new home. Tradition says that David Zook, who purchased a farm from Michael Thomas in Section 34 of Green township in May, 1819, was the first bishop of the congregation.[13] His purchase lay about two and a half miles south of the Center school which was situated at the crossroads east of the later Oak Grove church. Benjamin Douglas in his *History of Wayne County* states that David Zook was pastor of the Amish church organized in 1816, but this may be an error for 1819. Douglas is authority for the statement that this was the second religious organization in the township, the first minister having been a Methodist circuit rider who held regular services

12 This may have been Bishop Jacob Yoder mentioned later.

13 C. Z. Yoder had information that this Bishop David Zook moved to Fairfield county, Ohio, where an Amish congregation was organized and flourished for several decades during the middle of the nineteenth century. Jonathan Zook, a son of David Zook, was the last bishop of that congregation, and when the congregation disbanded, he transferred his membership to the Martins Creek congregation in Holmes county. Bishop David Zook's daughter, Lydia, married a Joseph Kurtz in Fairfield. They became the parents of the late Bishop Jonathan Kurtz, of Ligonier, Indiana, and also of two daughters who married and moved to Champaign county, Ohio. The father of Joseph Kurtz was the Abraham Kurtz mentioned among the early Amish settlers of Wayne county. Abraham had lived in Lancaster county and in Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, before moving to Wayne, where he died in 1830. David Zook, the father of Lydia Zook, had moved from Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, to Wayne and from Wayne he moved to Fairfield county, Ohio, where, as in Wayne, he served the infant congregation as its first bishop. He is buried not far from Lancaster, Ohio, near New Berne, on the farm that he and his sons cleared when they left their home in Wayne. See also Alta (Kurtz) Chrisophel, *Genealogy . . . Joseph Kurtz and Lydia Zook* (n.d.).

in the township beginning in 1814. C. Z. Yoder quoted Shem Zook of Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, as authority for the statement that David Zook was still serving as bishop of the Amish congregation in Green township in 1820. A David Zook with a family of nine was living in East Union township south of Green in 1840 according to the United States census for that year.

The above-mentioned Christian Brandt,[14] the first minister of the Wayne county Amish congregation who settled on Section 21 in 1818, lived there the remainder of his life. In his later years he lived in the grandfather house while his son-in-law, David Smoker, owned and managed the farm. Brandt had no sons but four daughters: Anna, married to David Smoker (now spelled Smucker by his descendants); one married to Stephen Schrock, possibly a son of Benedicht Schrag; one to Peter Wyse who moved to Fulton county, Ohio;[15] and one to Jacob Gaiman who also moved to Fulton county. C. Z. Yoder is authority for the statement that "Christian Brandt, as a church member, was loyal and orthodox and a wise counsellor." Yoder still remembered him when, in 1863, then about eighty years old, he would give a helpful testimony after the Sunday sermon, "closing generally with the kind admonition, 'What I now say, I say to all, watch and pray that you enter not into temptation.' " Yoder stated that Christian Brandt physically was under average size, but was blessed with more than ordinary muscular strength and power of endurance. In size he was a man similar to his grandson, Jonas Smucker, who also lived on the old homestead for many years. To illustrate Brandt's strength, C. Z. Yoder mentions a certain barn-raising at which there was present one man who boasted of his extraordinary strength. Most men declined to carry the heavy timbers with him. On one occasion Christian Brandt was in a position where he either had to carry with the strong man or shirk duty as others did. He manfully yet meekly took hold and outdid the boastful one to the applause of the crowd.

As soon as Christian Brandt had cleared sufficient of the heavily timbered land to raise a crop of wheat and had separated the chaff from the grain by tramping and flailing he found that he had forty bushels more than he needed for bread and seed for the next year. He loaded the forty bushels of wheat on a wagon, hitched four horses to

14 This is the Christian Brandt who preserved the Joseph Unzicker copy of an Amish bishop's manual printed in the *MQR* (April 1941) 15:95-117. Brandt being a minister may have brought this manual with him to the new country to be used in the event that the lot for the ordination of a bishop might fall on him. But this did not happen. He remained a "minister to the Word" until his death.

15 A certain John Wise was living in Green township in 1840; a Jacob Wise in Milton township. At that time the four daughters were already married and Christian Brandt and his wife were living alone. Stephen Schrock with a family of five was living in Green township in 1840.

it, and hauled it to Cleveland over fifty miles distant. This was before 1824 when the roads were little more than trails. He sold his wheat for ten dollars and purchased a barrel of salt for the same price.[16] Brandt lived to a ripe old age and was buried in the Oak Grove cemetery at his death in 1866. His wife who died several years earlier was buried in the Paradise Union cemetery where many of the earlier Amish settlers were buried before the Oak Grove congregation acquired its present cemetery.

THE COMMUNITY GROWS

The Amish community grew rapidly. Some concept of this growth may be derived from scanning the Wayne county records of the United States census of 1840 for names that were probably Amish. While it is true that an "Amish family name" may not always indicate membership in an Amish congregation, it is also true that in the early days members of an Amish congregation rarely left such a congregation while continuing to reside in the same neighborhood.[17] The 1840 census figures indicate that the major concentration of Amish families in Wayne county was in Green, Milton, Wayne, and East Union townships. Green to which most of the Somerset and Mifflin county Amish came led with 67 families (448 individuals). Milton north of Green had 26 families (141 individuals); East Union south of Green, 21 families (119 individuals); and Wayne west of Green, 31 families (206 individuals). The Yoders led all other family groups, 16 families and 86 persons. The Schrocks followed with nine families, 66 persons. Nearly all of the families of these two groups resided in Green township. The Millers with six families in Green, seven in Wayne, and four in East Union were the most widely dispersed.

It is practically certain that most of the Miller families were Brethren or became Brethren at an early date. Most of the six Plank

16 It is interesting to compare this incident with another which has been handed down from an adjoining county in the Western Reserve. In that case a Yankee farmer sold his surplus wheat in Cleveland and spent the entire amount of the sale to purchase calico for a dress for his wife. The difference between these two purchases bears a direct relation to the comparative economic success of the Yankee farmer and his German or Swiss Amish neighbor. Christian Brant's first, almost natural thought, was to make a purchase that would supply his family and his livestock with a necessary commodity and which would bring financial returns.

17 One reason was that leaving the Amish congregation resulted in prompt dismissal from the congregation by excommunication, followed by the strict enforcement of the ban. This isolated him from the fellowship of his friends and brought an unendurable feeling of loneliness. Amish and Mennonite families who transferred their membership to the River Brethren (Brethren in Christ) or to the Dunkers (Church of the Brethren) did not experience this "left out" feeling so acutely because they were befriended in every way by their new fellow believers. Both types of "Brethren" organized early congregations in Green and surrounding townships. Their emphasis on immersion as the only proper mode of baptism, and their insistence on a more pietistic form of religious experience, unsettled many members of Amish congregations during the nineteenth century. Many early Dunker settlers in Indiana came from Amish homes farther east.

families lived in Wayne township, but most of their descendants are widely scattered and are no longer connected with either the Amish or Mennonite churches.[18] Their early home in the rugged country northeast of Wooster, scarred by the deep, almost canyon-like valley of a small stream, was called "the glory hole" by the young Pennsylvania Amishmen of an early day because they "had so much fun there." Most of the Speicher families also resided in Wayne township in the early days. Among the other familiar Amish names found in these four townships according to the 1840 census records were King, Kurtz, Smucker, Hooley, Blough, Nafziger, Kauffman, Zook, and Stutzman.[19] Four Stutzman families (38 persons) resided in Green township in 1840.

This rapid growth led to an early division of the Amish community into two congregations, or districts, as is still the custom among the Old Order churches. Whenever the membership in a group includes more than 25 or 30 families, it divides into two districts, east and west or north and south of a public highway. When the Wayne county Amish congregation divided, some time prior to 1850, the east-west road past the present Oak Grove church formed the boundary line between the two new congregations. At that time the families of members in the two districts are said to have included about three hundred people. The church membership of persons listed in the 1840 census is not available. But since the figures for the four townships in which most of the early Amish families resided record 147 families and 904 individuals with possible Amish names, tradition probably is not far from accurate in placing the date of the division into a north and south congregation before 1850.

In 1855 the ministers in the north district were Bishop Peter

18 The Planks were a rugged, hard-working family known for their sympathy for the needy and unfortunate, and for their contempt for the idler who did not provide for his own. After their farm crops were gathered and the fall work was done, they, as the custom then was, granted their young people time for a visit to relatives in the East. These visits were returned by young men from Mifflin county and other Amish settlements in Pennsylvania. No Amish section provided more generous facilities for fun-making than the families in the Plank neighborhood east of Wooster. The spacious barn floors, swept and dusted, became the scene of many a party where the young people played games not too unlike the square dances of their English neighbors. As a young man, Christian Nafziger, later an Amish minister and bishop, often walked the seven miles from his parents' home in Canaan township to visit his future wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Christian and Elizabeth (Kurtz) Plank, living near Wooster. Yost Schrock, son of Peter Schrock, mentioned above (see footnote 6), later a Dunker (Church of the Brethren) minister at Middlebury, Indiana, owed much of his success, financial and otherwise, to his wife Martha, a sister of Mrs. Christian Nafziger. Elizabeth Schrock (1823-77), sister of Yost Schrock, was married to Christian S. Plank (1819-87) who served as a minister in the Forks Amish Mennonite congregation near Middlebury, Indiana. He was born of one of the Wayne county, Ohio, Plank families. DeMain Warner, living east of Goshen, is his great-grandson.

19 At the hands of "Yankee" census takers German and Swiss family names often underwent a strange metamorphosis. Yoder appeared as Yoter or Yotter; Kurtz, as Kirts; Wenger, as Wanger; Blauch or Blough, as Plough; Lichti, Leighty; Moser, Musser; Kauffman, both as Calfman and Caufman; Lantz, as Lance; Shantz, as Shons; Gerig, as Garick; and Speicher, always as Spiker. This is less remarkable when one recalls that many of the Germans could not write the native German, let alone writing or spelling the English form of their name.

Schantz,[20] Christian Nafziger (born in Europe), and Peter Blough (living in Milton township in 1840), formerly of Somerset county, Pennsylvania. In the south district Jacob Yoder of Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, was bishop; Christian Brandt and Solomon Zook, son of the John Zook referred to above, ministers; and Jacob Troyer, who had moved from Holmes to Wayne county, was deacon.[21] Soon after 1855, however, the south district experienced serious difficulties. Bishop Jacob Yoder failed financially and made an assignment.[22] He also was charged with rather grave social misconduct. He was, therefore, relieved of his ministry and moved to northern Indiana about 1858. There he united with the Brethren church and became an elder in that communion. Several other changes in the ministry occurred about this time. Solomon Zook died. In October, 1859, John K. Yoder was ordained to the office of bishop. He had been chosen by lot and ordained to the ministry in Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, in 1850 at the age of 26, and moved to Wayne county in the spring of 1855. In 1861 Christian K. Yoder and Jonathan Smucker were ordained to the ministry. Christian K. was a brother of John K. Yoder and was born in Mifflin county. He had moved to Wayne county in 1855.

In the meantime Peter Schantz had died (or moved away?), whereupon John K. Yoder became bishop over both districts. As we shall see later, the first meetinghouse, later known as Oak Grove, was built in 1862, three years after Yoder became bishop. This rendered unnecessary the further subdivision of the community into additional districts. In 1881, however, the Pleasant Hill meetinghouse was erected in the northern district, although Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill continued to function as one congregation, with certain of its services alternating.

20 A certain Christian Shons (Schantz) with a family of six was living in Milton township in 1840. The name of Peter Schantz does not seem to appear in the Wayne county census for that year.

21 A certain Jacob Troyer, probably the deacon, with a family of eleven, was living in Milton township in 1840.

22 Jacob Yoder dealt in horses and mules, hence was known as a "horse jockey." His shrewdness in trading horses did not enhance his reputation as a minister of the Gospel. On one occasion when he was driving a mule team hitched to a sled, home from Wooster, he raced with a railroad train and made the seven miles to the Wooster Summit in less time than the locomotive. But this too failed to impress some of the members of his congregation. Yoder's exploit seems less remarkable to anyone familiar wth the sharp curves and steep grade from Wooster to Weilersville, as Wooster Summit or Smithville Summit, or simply the Summit later was called. Older residents recall the watermelon story which illustrates the speed of the trains as they approached the Summit from the west. A certain Beck living along the track raised a crop of watermelons. As the train labored up the grade the front brakeman would leave the engine, select a ripe watermelon, and catch the caboose as it came by. Finally one day Beck saw another of his choicest watermelons disappear into the caboose. Exasperated, he harnessed a horse and drove to the Summit where the trains always stopped to take on water for the engine. He threatened to report the thefts unless the crew paid him well for the melon. They met his demands and the price being rather high the thievery ceased.

It is a little difficult for the present descendants of these early settlers to realize that their forefathers were Amish, much like the Old Order Amish of today. Until 1862 church services were held in the homes, in the houses in wintertime and in the barns in summer. The soil in Wayne county made for a prosperous agriculture. The growing prosperity of the community was attested by the gradual replacing of the log houses with their puncheon floors by large frame houses, capable of accommodating the brotherhood at the Sunday morning church service. Barns also became larger and better equipped for taking care of the excellent livestock and the large crops of hay and grain raised by these hardy farmers, and also provided room for the Sunday service in the summer months.[23] The young people usually walked or rode horseback to the Sunday morning service, while their parents and the younger children rode in some vehicle, often the farm wagon. Although high-spirited "buggy horses" were introduced in course of time, yet work horses were found at the Oak Grove meetinghouse on Sundays as late as the second decade of the twentieth century. In the earlier days meeting began at no stated time, although the members had a general understanding that they should arrive about nine o'clock. The Sunday morning preaching service was the only regular religious service in these early Amish congregations. Until 1855 the old German hymnal, the *Ausbund,* was the only hymnbook, the congregation singing the century-old tunes in unison. After the service lunch was provided for everyone present.

Although the ministers lived in the district of which they had special oversight, the entire group was in reality one body holding Sunday services in the north district one week and in the south district on the following Sunday. Ministers of one district were always welcome at the services of the other. Members also, when the weather was favorable, might attend services in either district. Usually, however, the Sunday on which no services were held in their own district was a day set aside for a visit to a friend or relative in the district, a big Sunday dinner, and a long period of conversation until chores called the family home in the evening. This Sunday visiting had almost religious significance, and it was important. Its later reduction

23 The well-swept barn floor on the second story of the Pennsylvania bank barn afforded a spacious room, flanked with well-filled mows of sweet-scented clover and timothy hay. While the horses that had brought the worshipers to the service contentedly munched hay from the well-filled mangers on the floor below, the pious worshipers sat on the home-made benches and sang their hymns from the *Ausbund,* joined their hearts in silent prayer, gave their attention to the reading of the Scripture from the Froschauer Bible, and listened attentively to the earnest exhortations to holy living delivered by untrained farmer-preachers ordained from among their own number.

or omission was a distinct loss to the life of the brotherhood. One of the objections to Sunday school twenty years later was that it would interfere with this time-honored custom of "extending hospitality to the saints."

Every spring, in fact soon after Christmas, the ministers in their sermons usually mentioned the necessity for parents to encourage their children to unite with the church, and admonished the young people that it was their duty to be baptized so that they could observe the ordinances. In late winter or early spring a group of young people usually announced their decision to unite with the church. They were then gathered into a class for instruction. In the beginning, baptismal services were conducted in the house. About 1850, however, the Wayne county group along with some other Amish congregations began the practice of baptizing in a stream of running water because they felt that baptism should be performed with "living water."[24] Baptismal services now were usually timed to occur after the weather was warm, sometimes as late as July. So long as the baptismal services were conducted in the homes, the entire class would kneel and would answer the usual questions. Then the bishop (*Völliger Diener*) would place his hands on the head of each applicant in turn and the deacon would pour a cupful of water into the cupped hands of the bishop to be poured on the head of the applicant. After the Amish began the practice of performing the baptismal rite in a running stream it was customary for the applicant to kneel in the stream on a board placed in the water, or on a clean gravelly spot in the bed of the stream, and the bishop, wearing boots, would perform the ceremony by three times dipping water from the stream with his cupped hands and pouring it onto the head of the applicant.

The communion service was observed in the spring and in the fall. The communion service itself was preceded two weeks earlier by the counsel meeting (*Ordnungs Gemeinde,* called in Pennsylvania German, *Artnings Gma*). The communion service itself (*das Abendmal,* or as it was called in the Pennsylvania German of the time, *Gross Gma*) was an all-day service. In connection with the communion, the Amish observed fast-day. They ate no breakfast, many of them took no lunch for the noon meal, and some of them ate no supper in the evening of the Sunday on which communion was held. The afternoon service was always very impressive and one of the most beautiful and memorable services in the entire Amish calendar. The min-

24 During the baptism controversy in the early fifties, John K. Yoder agreed with Bishop Solomon Byler in his dispute with Bishop Abraham Pitsche regarding the mode of baptism. Pitsche vigorously opposed the new method of baptism in a stream of water as did all the other Amish ministers who objected to the introduction of anything new or different into their services or mode of administering the ordinances.

isters usually selected one of the most eloquent of their bishops to speak in the afternoon. He continued the salvation story, beginning where the forenoon sermon had ended. He devoted most of his sermon to a discussion of the events of Passion Week and dwelt at length on the crucifixion. It was not unusual for some of the more eloquent and gifted of the bishops to present the story of the betrayal and crucifixion with such realism and seriousness that the entire congregation was melted to tears.

In the early years the method of courtship was quite different from that in vogue at present, at least in theory. Theoretically, the young Amishman was expected to propose marriage to a young woman through the deacon or one of the ministers. He first consulted his parents and then, after talking the matter over with the deacon, asked him to propose marriage to the young woman of his choice. The Amish had an interesting name for the deacon when he visited in this capacity. They called him *Schteckleyman.* The term may have been connected with the word *sticheln,* which meant to hint or to find out in indirect ways.

The wedding was preceded by elaborate preparation in the home of the bride. There was a great deal of house cleaning, whitewashing not only of walls and ceilings in the house, but also of yard fences and small outbuildings, baking of bread, pie, and cake, and roasting of meats. The ceremony, although held on a weekday, about the middle of the week, took place in connection with a complete church service. After the long silent prayer near the beginning of the service, the bishop called the contracting parties before the congregation and after explaining that Amish discipline forbade separation for any cause except adultery or death, he asked the usual questions: whether they still wished to go on with the ceremony; whether both were entirely unattached and had made no previous marriage contracts; and whether anyone in the congregation knew of any reason why these two young people should not be married. No living member recalls that anyone ever objected to the continuation of the ceremony. The bishop then continued with a detailed account of the marriage of Tobit in the apocryphal Book of Tobit. The sermon usually continued for an hour or more. After the ceremony was performed and the congregation dismissed, the entire congregation and any other invited guests were entertained at dinner. It was not expected that the congregation should leave after the meal, but the tables were replenished and anyone could return to eat at any time. In the early years the tables might be set for several days or even a week and anyone was at liberty to come and eat. Inadequate trans-

portation was in part the reason for the prolonged stay. In the evening the young people usually went to the barn to play games. The barn floors were previously swept and dusted to be made ready for the guests.[24a]

It was not the custom in the early days to announce the wedding several weeks beforehand. This was a later custom introduced in compliance with the law in some of the states. In the later years, after this custom was introduced into the Amish church, it was not customary for the bride to attend the service on the day when her wedding was announced. The bridegroom, however, was obliged to attend, but he usually managed to leave before the actual announcement was made. Bishop Benjamin Gerig, successor to Bishop John K. Yoder, continued to make these public announcements. In his declining years his son, J. S. Gerig, made some of these announcements for him. When J. S. Gerig became bishop in 1912 he discontinued the customary practice.

Funerals were conducted in the most simple manner. In the earlier days no self-respecting Amish family would have considered employing an undertaker. This would have offended their sense of the fitness of things in two ways. In the first place, it would have been like the "world." In the second place, they would have condemned the expense involved. Neighbors or friends "laid out" the body, that is, washed and dressed the corpse ready for burial. Neighbors and friends also remained in the house and "sat up" with the corpse until the day of burial. The coffin was usually homemade by a member of the congregation, and was borne to the church or the cemetery in a spring wagon or other ordinary vehicle.[25] Until toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, a complete church service was held in connection with the funeral. In the earlier period neither men nor women removed their head covering or other outer garments, hats or overcoats, at a funeral.[25a] Nearly every family or group of relatives had its private burying ground. Some of these private burying grounds still exist in parts of Wayne county. The Plank cemetery, which a mem-

24a J. C. Meyer recalls attending a wedding as late as the early twentieth century at which the guests remained until the following day. Food was available late at night and early in the morning.

25 The first Oak Grove undertaker, still remembered by the oldest living members of the congregation, was Adam Kurtz, a member of Oak Grove. To be ready for emergencies he constructed and kept on hand in the upstairs room of his shop a supply of coffins of various sizes. He also owned an extremely plain hearse for use at funerals. His sole remuneration was the modest sum charged for the coffin. Kurtz was succeeded by Simon Brenneman who operated a planing mill in partnership with C. J. Miller mentioned below as excommunicated about 1890. Brenneman purchased the equipment of a "worldly" undertaker. Before he could use it for Oak Grove funerals he was obliged to simplify it by removing certain ornamental decorations.

25a In the early days before embalming was practiced it was necessary that the room where the body lay be kept cool. This may have been the origin of the practice of not removing the outer garments and hats during a funeral.

ber of that family deeded to the President of the United States to insure its perpetual preservation as a burial ground, lies on an unimproved road northeast of Wooster. This is the burial place of an ancestor of Mrs. Herbert Hoover. A Stutzman cemetery lies about one and one-half miles east and a mile north of the Oak Grove church. A mile north is what one might call the remains of another family cemetery. A mile or more almost due west of this family cemetery is another which has been abandoned and thrown back into the field. On the south side of the N. Wilmer Schrock farm there was once a small cemetery. No doubt there were others in the community in the early days before the congregational cemeteries were established.

In matters of discipline the Amish church in Wayne county was very strict. Like the Amish of that period, and the Old Order Amish of the present time, the men wore round-tailed coats with standing collars, and broad, low-crowned hats. The mode of dress for men and women and the style of haircut for men were strictly prescribed. The beard was insisted upon for all men, at least all married men. One of the important officials of the congregation was the deacon. It was his duty not only to see that the widows and orphans and the poor in the congregation were provided with the necessaries of life. His was also the responsibility of seeing that the regulations (*die Ordnungen*) were observed. He had the duty of reporting any infractions of the rules of the church regarding styles of dress and house furnishings, and of any innovations that might indicate that a member was slipping away from the ways of the fathers. It was not expected that the bishop should busy himself with minor details of discipline because it was feared that this would cause him to lose his influence with the members of the congregation.

The semiannual counsel meeting referred to above, the service for reviewing the rules and regulations, or for placing the congregation in "order" for communion, was a complete church service followed by the counsel period. The ministers received each member's "counsel" privately, frequently in a side room. During this counsel meeting members were encouraged to settle all private differences in order to prepare themselves for the communion service which was to follow in two weeks. Unfortunately, however, the counsel meeting was too often made a clearinghouse for neighborhood differences and an occasion for bringing up minor difficulties and objections which members had to the conduct of fellow members, or to the way in which they observed or did not observe the strict *Ordnung* and regulations of the congregation. To the deacon of the congregation often fell the unpleasant duty of attempting to adjust trifling difficulties

which should have been entirely beneath the notice of such an official. In Wayne county, however, except on a few occasions, the congregation usually succeeded in smoothing out differences so that the communion service could be held.

While the introduction of minor disciplinary problems at any semiannual counsel meeting was taken for granted, serious infractions of the discipline were considered whenever the occasion demanded it. Such matters were always considered by the congregation in an executive council or *Rath* (pronounced *Rot*). Every child and every young person in an Amish community knew what was expected of him when one of the ministers would announce at the end of the regular Sunday morning service: "The brethren and sisters are to remain seated." This was a polite way of informing the children and young people and all who were not members of the church to leave so that the congregation could hold a private session on disciplinary matters.

In these counsel sessions, matters of neighborhood relationships were discussed with the greatest frankness, one might almost say, bluntness. Several forms of discipline were recognized for erring, disobedient, or refractory members. For a slight offense a member might simply be considered not in good standing. Such a member was usually "set back" from communion. That is, he was not permitted to take any part in the communion service. Some members at Oak Grove have recollections of older members who requested that they be "set back" for a time in which to repent. Apparently no one brought any charge against them, but they believed this experience would bring them peace. After a period of time they were then reinstated. For overt violation of the moral law or for stubborn disobedience to the regulations of the church, a member might be excommunicated. Such a member was expected to withdraw, "to put himself out of the church," but if he did not do so he was expelled, even in spite of his refusal to withdraw.

The purpose of excommunication was twofold. First, excommunication and the resulting avoidance by the congregation were intended, not so much as a punishment, but to show the erring member his true condition in the sight of God, and so to bring him to repentance. The second purpose was to keep the church pure, the Amish conception of the church being that she, as the bride of Christ, must be spotless and blameless. As late as 1865, and in Wayne county even after 1890, members of the congregation were expected to practice the ordinance of "avoidance," based on Article XVII of the Dordrecht Confession. By the requirement of this article no member of

the congregation was to eat or to have any business dealings with an excommunicated person, nor was the latter expected to attend church services. Members of the church were obliged to help him when he was in need but could receive no favors from him. When he wished to be restored and gave evidence of repentance and reformation, he was received into the church with a simple ceremony, but one as impressive and solemn as that by which he was first inducted into membership by water baptism.[26]

The strict type of discipline here described has been the cause of numerous schisms in Amish history. While the Wayne county Amish experienced no major schism during the nineteenth century, there were three occasions when small groups did secede, either because they regarded the discipline of the main body too strict, or too liberal. The first occurred about 1850 when two ministers, Hannes Yoder and Emanuel Hochstetler, withdrew from the congregation, taking a small group of followers with them, in protest against deviations from the regulations which were being accepted. The details of these deviations and of the protests are not known, but it is certain that the Wayne county community was slowly making the transition from Amish to Amish Mennonite. The receiving of a member from the Mennonite church without rebaptism seems to have been one source of dissatisfaction. Adoption about this time of the practice of baptism in a stream as described above may have been another.[27] The adoption of the newer Mennonite hymnal, the *Unpartheyisches Gesangbuch,* in place of the older *Ausbund* is another evidence of the transition from the old to the new order, although this occurred in 1855 after the withdrawal of Yoder and Hochstetler.

When Yoder and Hochstetler withdrew they organized a separate congregation which struggled along for a few years and then ceased to exist after the death of Hannes Yoder which occurred some time before 1855. Emanuel Hochstetler then returned to the church and was reinstated as a minister in the congregation. In 1862, however, when the Oak Grove meetinghouse was built, Hochstetler withdrew once more, again taking a small group with him. A visiting bishop,

26 At the 1872 conference the question was asked whether it can "be tolerated that anyone should trade or eat with a member who is in the ban and deal with him in every respect as with a brother?" John P. King of Logan county, Ohio, the moderator, did not even appoint the usual committee to consider the question and bring in a resolution. He simply made a vigorous address saying that he considered shunning as important as baptism because without avoidance the ban would be ineffectual (*nichts werth*). Christian K. Yoder expressed the same conviction. For John K. Yoder's views on avoidance see the report of the 1868 conference, Appendix D, p. 214. Probably the last instance of avoidance in the Oak Grove congregation occurred about 1890 when C. J. Miller and his wife were excommunicated. The wife, long a sufferer from poor health, had become a victim of a "holiness" health cult that condoned rather crude social irregularities.

27 In Holmes county the division between those who baptized in the stream and those who observed the former custom of conducting the service in the house was more nearly equal. There the Old Order Amish still maintain strong growing congregations.

possibly from the Old Order group in Holmes county, ordained Christian Egli to assist Hochstetler in shepherding his tiny flock; but again, this organization continued for less than ten years, and finally disbanded entirely in the late sixties. Emanuel Hochstetler lies buried in the Pleasant Hill cemetery. The third schism, which occurred in 1869, was caused by the temperance issue and is discussed below.[28]

BUILDING A MEETINGHOUSE

The Amish Mennonite congregation in Wayne county with its north and south districts, although large and flourishing with a membership of about 300, did not erect a meetinghouse until 1862. This seems all the more remarkable because the two Swiss congregations had built meetinghouses much earlier, Sonnenberg a log structure in 1834 and Crown Hill a frame building in 1850. In fact Sonnenberg had begun its second church in 1861 and finished it in 1862. The other Mennonite congregations in this and adjoining counties also had erected meetinghouses earlier: Roland, near Canton, in 1830 (this is the site of the Canton mission); Martins, a log building in 1835; Kolb's and Longenecker's (also log) in nearby Holmes county in 1833 and 1834 respectively; Guilford in Medina in 1833; and Pleasant View in eastern Wayne in 1856. Not only were these Mennonite congregations enjoying the advantages of a centrally located meeting place for Sunday morning worship service, but the same was true of the Amish Mennonite congregations in Ohio with which the Wayne county Amish were connected by ties of kinship and friendship and by similar forms of congregational life and discipline. The Swiss Amish from the canton of Bern had erected a log meetinghouse northeast of Canton in nearby Stark county less than ten years after they had begun their settlement in 1825. The other newer Amish settlements farther west already had erected substantial meetinghouses, in Logan county about 1855 and in Champaign in 1857. Of the older Amish congregations in Ohio only Holmes and Wayne counties (known today as Walnut Creek and Oak Grove) still worshiped in their homes.

It is true to be sure that in both of these congregations, especially in Holmes, some members strenuously opposed the erection of meetinghouses because it was following the "world" in style, and because it was introducing something "new." Backwardness, however, can hardly be given as the chief reason for this delay in church building in Wayne and Holmes counties. In fact it seems rather to have been the prosperity of the members. In these, the two oldest Amish

28 See below, p. 182.

settlements in the state of Ohio, the large dwellings provided ample room for the church services in winter when rough unimproved roads and inclement weather reduced the number of worshipers present for a Sunday morning service. And in the summer the spacious barn floors of the large Pennsylvania bank barns accommodated the large audiences brought together by the pleasant summer sunshine. The growing congregation, however, raised problems. To provide huge supplies of food for the aftermeeting lunch, to engage in a midsummer house cleaning in order to have a spotless house for the meeting, to move out part of the furniture to make room for the benches, these tasks laid a heavy burden on the "women folks" of the home where services were held. Then too there were the benches to be stored until the next biweekly meeting and then to be transported to the next meeting place possibly several miles away. Finally in 1862 the congregation decided to hold a special meeting to consider ways and means for building a house of worship. The following is a paraphrase and summary of C. Z. Yoder's record of the meeting:

> The private homes of the members being too small to accommodate the large congregation, it was determined at a counsel of the ministry and some of the members in the spring of 1862 to call a meeting of all members, especially male, at the Center schoolhouse in Green township to consider the advisability of erecting a meetinghouse. The meeting was held on March 2, 1862, and was attended by a considerable number of the men. A vote was taken on three alternatives: 1) Erecting two meetinghouses, 2) erecting one meetinghouse, or 3) erecting none. The majority voted in favor of one meetinghouse, and a building committee of three men was appointed: David Smoker, Jonathan W. Zook, and Samuel Schrock. In addition David J. Smoker was appointed treasurer and another committee of three was appointed to assist in selecting the site: Jacob P. Stoll, Christian Brenneman and Abraham Plank. The fund was to be raised by subscription, beginning at once.

The subscription list contains 108 names.[29] The heaviest contributor, Stephen Schrock (probably Christian Brandt's son-in-law), gave thirty dollars. The other contributors ranged from two to twenty-five dollars. Twelve contributors were women who gave from two to twenty dollars each. The list is interesting for its proof of family names in the congregation, the Yoders leading with 14 names and the Hartzlers, Schrocks, and Smokers following with 8 names each. C. Z. Yoder's record continues with copies of the receipts kept by the treasurer when he made payments for labor and materials. David Smoker, a John Stineberg, and Jonathan W. Zook seem to have been the principal workmen. The first received twelve payments between April 5 and October 28, 1862, for a total of $327.10. Stineberg re-

29 See the list of names in Appendix A, pp. 206 f.

ceived his first payment on May 6 and the last on December 10, a total of $184.50. Jonathan W. Zook received $167.50 between May 6 and November 10.

The meetinghouse was located at the northwest corner of the northeast quarter of Section 21 in Green township, one-half mile west of the Center schoolhouse, and was completed October 1, 1862. On October 13, in compliance with state law, the congregation assembled to form a corporate organization for the holding of legal title to the church property. At this meeting the church was named Center of Green church, and trustees were appointed with power to receive a deed of conveyance. A record of the proceedings of the meeting was then recorded in the recorder's office in Wooster.[30]

The first board of trustees, in whom was vested the control of the church property and cemetery,[31] consisted of Gideon Smoker, Stephen Schrock, and Solomon Hartzler elected for one-, two-, and three-year terms. Christian Schrock was elected clerk for three years and subsequently appointed treasurer by the trustees. C. Z. Yoder's records say that "about the same time they purchased the right or use of a spring from Elizabeth Yoder for ten dollars, for which she gave the trustees and their successors in office a deed.[32] The cost of building the house, purchasing lot and right of spring is estimated at about $1,415.87. . . . As there were not enough funds to defray all expenses an estimate of a certain amount on personal property was made to pay expenses and perhaps building sheds. To this the majority

30 See Appendix C, p. 208. Note that the meetinghouse was at first called Center of Green. The name was later changed, however, to Oak Grove.

31 Burials in the new cemetery began soon after the Oak Grove church was erected. Among the first burials were those of four children of John Burkholder. Tradition says they died of "black diphtheria," possibly in 1862. There is one tombstone, however, which appears to have an 1859 date. Apparently the cemetery was not fenced until the summer of 1865. The record contains the following item: "June 18th 1865 Received of C. Schrock as trustee of the Amish Mennonite church for lumber for the churchyard [fence?] the sum of $13.44 [Signed] Ezra Zook." Another item dated "November 1868" reads: "John Smiley for grave-digging tools viz Shovel spade mattock and Digging Iron Expressly for grave digging $6.75."

32 This deed to which Elizabeth Yoder affixed her mark on December 13, 1862, was made in favor of "Gideon Smoker, Solomon Hartzler and Stephen Schrock Trustees of the Amish Menonite [*sic*] Center of Green Church," and granted the use of a certain spring situated on the west half of the southeast quarter of Section 16, about six and one-half rods from the south line of the quarter "with the privilege of walling in the spring, making a fence around it and digging a drain to the Center road or South line of the ½ ¼ [half quarter] and privilege of passing and repassing to said spring to use water and to make such repairs as may be needed." Witnesses to the deed were John Zimmerman and Johannes Burghalter (John Burkholder). Elizabeth Yoder made her mark instead of signing her name, probably because like many women of that period she was unable to write either English or German script. On the same day Barbara Burkholder also made her mark to the deed by which she and her husband John for thirty-five dollars sold ninety-eight hundredths of an acre in the "Northwest corner of the Northeast Quarter of Section Twenty-one" to the "Trustees of the Amish Mennonite Center of Green Church." Magdalena Miller did the same when she and her husband Jacob for forty dollars sold to the "Aumish Menonite congregation of Green township (Center of Green church)" seventy-five hundredths of an acre in the Northeast Quarter of Section Twenty-one. These two plots were just across the road from the spring mentioned above. These two plots formed the grounds for the Oak Grove church and cemetery. In 1893 the trustees purchased an additional acre of ground from D. K. Hooley and wife Lydia for $125.

agreed." Then follows another list of contributors, some voluntary, the majority by assessment.[33]

Comparison of the list of voluntary contributors of the spring of 1862 with the list of contributors on the assessment plan of the fall of 1862, when additional funds were needed to complete the building, makes an interesting study. The name of John K. Yoder is missing from the first list, whereas it appears on the second. Probably the failure of the bishop to contribute voluntarily in the spring, however, merely illustrates his usual caution and his unwillingness to give offense, even to a minority, whereas he responded readily when the congregation spoke through the assessment procedure in the fall. Building of the new meetinghouse did leave a few scars. As mentioned above, it caused a few members under the leadership of Emanuel Hochstetler to secede from the congregation. An item in the record, dated June 29, 1872, reads: "Paid to Jacob Conrad fifteen dollars which was the amount he paid towards building the Center of Green Church in 1862 and as to certain circumstances was dissatisfied and demanded to have it back again so the above mentioned sum was paid back to him on the 28 of June, 1872, which amount was made up by the church members."[34]

Following the list of those assessed, and of those who made voluntary contributions to complete payment of the building costs, C. Z. Yoder's record continues with additional items, chiefly regarding financial matters. The assessment ordered in the October, 1862, meeting of the congregation made possible the payment of some past due items. On December 10, 1862, D. J. Smoker signed a receipt showing that he had received from "C. Schrock as treasurer of trustees of the Amish Mennonite center church the sum of $48.96" and on December 13 another for $26.04. John Stineberg did not receive payment in full until on March 27, 1863, when he was paid $54.16. If one is to judge from the date of the receipt, Jonathan W. Zook waited for his payment "in full the sum of $27.35" until "Jan 19th 1865."

In spite of minor difficulties and misunderstandings the congregation in 1862 was pleased with its new meetinghouse which eventually came to be known as Oak Grove. The cost had been kept down by using the native lumber which was plentiful. The building was

33 See Appendix B, p. 208 f. The names in Appendix A represent the voluntary contributions to the building fund, made in the spring of 1862. Those in Appendix B represent the contributions made in the fall of 1862 when additional funds were needed for the completion of the building. Most of the contributions in the second list were made in response to an assessment. A few were voluntary gifts, these being indicated by an asterisk.

34 The Martin Conrad family history lists a Jacob Conrad, born December 7, 1812, who died June 30, 1882. A Jacob N. Conrad was born December 18, 1843, and died 1900. The former of these might well be the Jacob Conrad here referred to. JCM.

located on what is now the northwest part of the Oak Grove cemetery. The audience room was 43 by 55 feet with two anterooms attached, one where the women could care for their infants, the other being used as a counsel room for the ministers. This room the ministers used to plan the morning worship service, discuss problems of discipline, and instruct the candidates for baptism before the biweekly services during late winter, spring, and early summer Sundays. For seats at first they simply used the benches which were the property of the congregation and which had formerly been transported from home to home wherever services were held. Wood for fuel also was plentiful. The long horizontal stoves, located one on each side about half way back, and built to receive huge sticks or blocks of wood between three and four feet long, threw out abundant heat. Extant records mention thirty loads of wood apparently donated by the members between January 1, 1868, and the end of 1878.[35] The first service was held in the new church building in October, 1862. Services were held every two weeks as formerly but now the entire congregation worshiped at one place. This arrangement continued until 1881 when the Pleasant Hill meetinghouse was erected to accommodate those members who lived at a distance from the church.

With the completion of the meetinghouse the congregation appears to have set out to hold a business meeting each New Year's day. On January 1, 1864, Christian Brenneman was elected trustee for a three-year term to succeed Gideon Smucker whose term had expired October 12, 1863. At this meeting "a collection was raised for the purpose of paying for cleaning the house and making fire. The amount raised then and subsequently was $12.70." On January 13, 1864, the trustees paid "Barbary and Nancy Davis . . . according to agreement the amount of $10.00 . . . for cleaning the house and making fire for the year ending October 12th 1863." They agreed to do this work the next year for the same amount. Jemima Hooley received fifteen dollars a year for this work during the next four years and this remained the regular pay until the year 1869 when cleaning the house and making fire became two separate jobs. Then David Kurtz "received for warming the meeting house the sum of $5.00." "November 5, 1872 Elizabeth Kurtz received for cleaning the meeting house the sum of $15.00 and for extra cleaning for both summer and winter the sum of $2.00. David Kurtz . . . warming the

35 The congregation's "Record of Fuel" presents certain problems. Four names appear on the list more than once: Christian Greeser [*sic*], Samuel Schrock, Christian K. Yoder, and Joash Yoder. Schrock received "Credit to one Load Wood," twice in December, 1869. The items follow a uniform pattern: "Jan. 1st 1868 John K. Yoder, Credit to one Load Wood"; or "October 1870 John Smiley Credit to one Load Wood"; or "September 1874 Credit to Joash Yoder one load of wood." The question arises: Why credit? Had the members agreed to furnish fuel and was the record kept to give each one credit for doing his part?

meetinghouse . . . $5.00." Finally in 1874 the two tasks were recombined and the treasurer "paid David Kurtz $25.00 for tending the meetinghouse." The next year it was $35.00, and the next $36.00. As the pay increased, the job rose in dignity. Joseph Plank served as "sexton [!] for the Oak Grove church for 1878 for the sum of $36.00." This was the amount paid to Jonas Smucker during each of the following two years.

The congregation seems for a time to have neglected the annual election of a trustee. In 1867, after the term of office of all the trustees had expired, a members' meeting was called for Christmas day. David Smoker, David Kurtz, and L. Hartzler were elected trustees. In December, 1870, again at a called meeting, David Kurtz and David Smoker were re-elected and Martin Zigler succeeded Hartzler. In December, 1873, those elected were Benjamin Gerig, David Kurtz, and Jonas Smucker. These three were re-elected in 1876. Jonas Smucker became treasurer in 1874 and was succeeded in 1877 by Joseph Ramseyer.

CHANGES IN MINISTRY AND MEMBERSHIP

Changes in the ministerial body at Oak Grove during the years following 1861 can be traced to a certain extent by the record of attendance at the sessions of the annual Amish conference when those sessions were held in Wayne county. Bishop John K. Yoder was the most consistent attendant at the conference held at various places from Pennsylvania to Iowa. Most of the other Wayne county ministers and deacons attended only occasionally, some never, except when the conference met in Wayne county.[36] The roll for 1862 includes the following from Wayne county: John K. Yoder, Jacob King, and Jacob Troyer of Orrville; Christian Nofziger, Peter Blough, Jonathan Smucker, Christian Brandt, Christian Schantz, and Solomon Zook of Smithville; and Christian K. Yoder of Madisonburg. In 1862 and for many years afterward John K. Yoder had sole oversight of the congregation. He had ordained Jonathan Smucker and Solomon Zook to the ministry in 1859 soon after Jacob Yoder had been removed from his office of bishop.[36a]

At the 1865 conference Christian Nofziger was absent, having moved to Indiana. At the 1869 conference John Smiley's name

36 See the attendance list as reported in Appendix D, p. 209 ff.

36a A certain Christian Conrad seems to have served the Oak Grove—Pleasant Hill congregation as minister. His obituary notice published in the *Herald of Truth* in 1890 (p. 338) states only that he was an Amish Mennonite preacher, that John K. Yoder and David Z. Yoder had charge of the funeral services and that interment was in the Pleasant Hill Cemetery. The place of burial indicates that he resided in the northern part of Wayne county. Research has located no other reference to his life and work, but the name, Christian Conrad, appears three times in Appendixes A and B below.

appears on the roll for the first time.[37] In 1873 Solomon Zook's name is missing, he having died in the meantime. Two new names appear, however, Joseph Frey and David Z. Yoder. The latter, a son of John K. Yoder, was ordained deacon in 1872 and minister in 1874.

Between 1862 and 1880 a considerable number of new immigrants joined the congregation. They came directly from Alsace and from Montbeliard and the Belfort region of France, with possibly a few from Basel, Switzerland. Among the Amish immigrants to America of this period were families bearing the names Meyer, Graber, Rich, Gerig, Conrad, Kauffman, Berkey, Ramseyer, Krabill (also spelled Kribuill, Kriebuill, or Krähenbühl), Richard, Kropf, Miller, Jeanneret, Jacquet (pronounced yah'-ky), Stoll (Stahl?), and Frey. Many of these immigrants were able to speak and write both German and French. In some respects they were more progressive than some of the earlier families and changed the nature of the congregation to some extent.[37a]

Not all of the immigrants bearing these names came to Wayne county. A considerable number lived in Stark county, Ohio. Most of the Millers lived there; a descendant of the Miller family was John D. Miller, a Mennonite preacher born near Louisville in 1879. Some moved from Wayne to Henry county, Iowa, but some went directly

37 John Smiley of Weilersville was one of the ministers until his tragic death during the 1879 threshing season. One day as the men sat down to dinner someone said: "Where's John?" They recalled that he had been working in the mow tramping straw. Hurrying to the barn they found him after a time covered with straw, dead.

37a Some of the relatives of the later Alsatian immigrants to Wayne County, Ohio, were among the earlier settlers in the county. Martin Conrad, born in France (Alsace) in 1805, came to America as a young man, married Anna Conrad in 1841 and died in Wayne county in 1892. Peter Liechty, born in Europe in 1804, married Veronica Eicher in 1825, came to Wayne county in 1837 and was buried at the Oak Grove church in 1887. Both of these couples reared families in Wayne county. A Grieser family immigrated to Wayne county from Alsace-Lorraine in 1832 but later left for Fulton county, Ohio, where a large number of their descendants reside. The marriage lists of the later nineteenth century immigrants between 1850 and 1870 record frequent intermarriage between members of these families, probably indicating certain cultural differences between the later immigrants and the earlier settlers from Pennsylvania. The Graber-Conrad, Conrad-Rich, Klopfenstein-Stoll, Rich-Klopfenstein, Kauffman-Rich, and even Rich-Rich, Conrad-Conrad, and Stoll-Stoll marriages were not infrequent. Marriage of first cousins was not unusual.

A surprisingly large number of these Alsatians found their way to the "land of promise" as it was described by many of the new settlers. An Anna Kauffman who came to America from Alsace with her husband and nine children died in Johnson county, Missouri, in 1902. Two of her remaining children were living in Stark county, Ohio, as late as 1920; both were born in Alsace, Benjamin in 1839 and Lydia in 1846. Anna's husband, Joseph Klopfenstein, was a prominent bishop in the Basel Amish Mennonite church for thirty-five years. A certain John Edward Klopfenstein, whose mother was a Stoll, lived in Cass county, Missouri. He and his wife, Mary Amanda Schrock, were the parents of Mary Pearl Klopfenstein, (now Mrs. Glen R. Miller, Goshen, Indiana) born September 8, 1901, near Garden City, Missouri. A Richard family came from Belfort, France, in 1852; John Rich and his wife Catherine Klopfenstein in 1851; another Rich family in 1855. A Liechty family came to Wayne county in 1859. Jacob Liechty of this family married Elizabeth Rich in 1864. This Elizabeth Rich came to America in 1855 with her mother, Barbara, widow of Joseph Rich. The youngest of their seven children is Lydia, Mrs. M. C. Lehman. Joseph Kauffman born in Upper Michelbach, Alsace, in 1829, came to Wayne county in 1855 and later moved to Iowa where he married Fannie Rich in 1867. A Yotty (Yordy?) family came from Bavaria to Woodford county, Illinois, in 1838. Their daughter, Mary, married Joseph Klopfenstein in 1856 and moved to Eureka, Illinois, in 1864 where she died in 1926. A Daniel Rich family moved from Iowa to Hartford, Lyon county, Kansas, about 1880. They were members of the General Conference group but never succeeded in building a congregation. A few members of the family still reside there and several are buried in the village cemetery.

from their Alsatian homes to that location. A few moved to Fulton county, Ohio. J. S. Gerig states that some of the Freys, Stolls and Grabers who became members of the Reformed Mennonite church at Marshallville, Ohio, worshiped with the Oak Grove congregation for a time. Jacob Stoll, born in France in 1830, came to America with his parents in 1837 and lived near Marshallville. Two Reformed Mennonite ministers, Aaron Fry (born 1879) and Forest Stoll (born 1882) were living in Wayne county in 1917. They had married two Graber sisters, Leah and Anna. About 1870 twenty Russian families wintered in the Wayne county Amish Mennonite neighborhood. A few died there and are buried in the Pleasant Hill and Oak Grove cemeteries, but nearly all of them moved farther west to join their fellow countrymen in Kansas, Nebraska or the Dakotas. Prominent among the later immigrants to Wayne county from Alsace-Lorraine were Jacob G. Meyer, Michael Richard, and five Graber brothers: Daniel, [37b] Chris, John, Joseph and Jacob. J. G. Meyer was the son of John Jacob and Elizabeth Gerig Meyer. Born in Alsace in 1846, he came to Wayne county with his mother and his brother Albert in 1872. In 1875 he was married to Anna Stuckey (deceased 1881). In 1883 he was married to Mary Conrad of Stark county, Ohio. At his death on February 16, 1930, his widow and twelve children survived him. For many years he taught a Sunday school class in German. He was the father of Jacob C. Meyer, professor of history at Western Reserve University.

THE TEMPERANCE ISSUE

Social customs in early Wayne county differed little from those of other frontier settlements. One respect in which the early Amish and Mennonites differed from those of the present time was in their manufacture and use of strong drink. Like other frontiersmen, the Amish of Wayne county considered whiskey almost a household necessity. No self-respecting farmer could refuse to have a gallon jug of whiskey in the field for the use of the workers, swinging the cradle and tying and shocking the sheaves, or hauling the sheaves to the barn and storing them in the mow. And it was understood that the jug was to be replenished whenever necessary. After the late sixties and early seventies, when the Amish took the lead in Wayne county and other communities in discontinuing the use of liquor, some of them had difficulty in finding harvest hands because many laborers

37b Another Daniel Graber lived in Iowa. This Daniel Graber's parents, Christian and Maria Widmer Graber, in 1856 moved directly from Porrentruy, Switzerland, to Wayland, Iowa. Daniel was born in Washington county, Iowa, in 1858. He and his wife, Fanny Conrad, became the parents of Christian and Joseph, now living in Elkhart county, Indiana, and seven daughters, Katie, Anna, Verna (Mrs. Willard Smith), Mary (deceased), Elizabeth (Mrs. Chris Stoltzfus), Magdalena and Esther.

refused to work for a man who was too "stingy" to supply the all-important jug of whiskey to furnish "strength" for the heavy work of harvest and to help the workers "to stand the heat." In the early history of Wayne county, or of the American frontier generally, whiskey was actually a medium of exchange. The purchase price of a certain Wayne county farm in the early days consisted in part of eleven hundred gallons of whiskey. Among others, one of the sons-in-law of Christian Brandt, a good farmer, an excellent businessman, and a kind husband and father, had difficulty in controlling his appetite for strong drink. He seems eventually to have been excommunicated from the church and never to have resumed his membership, although his wife remained a faithful member of the church until her death.[38]

The wave of prohibition sentiment, which began in the early part of the nineteenth century in New England, gradually rolled westward and found among Amish and Mennonites its earliest advocates in many communities, although some members, especially of the more recent immigration from Europe where they were unacquainted with the sentiment, found it difficult to understand this new idea. The 1866 Amish ministers' conference deplored the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.[39] In 1869 John K. Yoder at a counsel meeting of his congregation brought up the matter of the manufacture and sale of beer and whiskey by members at Oak Grove. At that time Jonathan Burkholder, a farmer whose land adjoined Smithville on the southeast, owned and operated a brewery in connection with his farm. Another member of the Oak Grove church, Martin Rich, owned and operated a brewery in Canal Fulton and at the time of this counsel meeting was living in Wooster and operating the Apple Creek brewery. His brother, Peter Rich, had a large brewery in Sterling.[40]

38 Wayne county was not alone in its concern with this problem. In the Union county, Pennsylvania, Amish settlement a vineyard owned by a member of the congregation was a constant source of annoyance and difficulty in the congregation. One of the members of this congregation in later years tried desperately to give up the use of strong drink, but found it impossible to do so until he finally moved to Kansas where a strictly enforced prohibition law protected him from temptation. The reader of the early history of our Amish settlements needs to bear in mind that drinking was common among all classes, and that the early frontier settlements had Lutheran and Reformed distillers and brewers, as well as those who were Amish and Mennonite. The Leisy breweries in Cleveland and the Overholt distilleries in western Pennsylvania were founded by early Mennonites in good standing in the church, but the present owners are not Mennonites.

39 This is the first reference to the liquor traffic in the Amish conference minutes (1862-78). In 1866 the conference considered the question: "Can a person who for worldly gain manufactures or sells (distributes) intoxicating beverages be considered a member useful to the church?" Apparently the conference felt that it was premature to take formal action on the matter. But individual ministers expressed vigorous opposition to such manufacture and sale and denounced the propriety of allowing a member in good standing to engage in the traffic.

40 Jonathan Burkholder was a son of John and Barbara Burkholder. See footnote 11. The two Rich brothers were members of the Alsatian group only recently immigrated to Wayne county. They had no conscience against the manufacture and sale of liquor because they had been accustomed to it in their native country. One of the members of the Alsatian

John K. Yoder pleaded earnestly with his people that if they were not willing to give up entirely the use of beer and whiskey they should at least not manufacture it for sale.[41] While history is silent on this point, Yoder must have had considerable support for his position among the members of his congregation. Otherwise he could not have been so insistent or presented the matter in such strong terms. In the course of the counsel meeting, Jonathan Burkholder finally arose and said: "I am willing to quit my brewery business." Martin Rich then arose with the statement: "All that I have is invested in my business. I do not have a farm in addition to my brewery interests, but if the congregation will give me time to sell my business I am willing to give up brewing beer." He was seven years in disposing of his holdings, and invested the proceeds in the farm where the Ohio Mennonite Sunday School Conference was held in 1897. Some of the members found it a severe trial to bear with him during all that period, but his bishop and other friends stood by him until he could dispose of his property without too great financial loss.

The third brewer in the congregation, Peter Rich, seems to have been offended at Bishop John K. Yoder's proposition, and declared his unwillingness to discontinue his business. Something about Peter Rich's attitude seems to have turned the congregation against him, and Bishop John K. Yoder with the counsel of the church excommunicated him. A year after his excommunication Peter Rich's brewery burned to the ground. Then he rebuilt it and it burned a second time. He rebuilt it the third time, but gradually took up

group, Benjamin Gerig who later became bishop of the congregation, was employed as a young man by Jonathan Burkholder to drive a beer wagon. This was his first steady employment after reaching America. Bishop Joseph Widmer of Modenheim, Alsace, was still obliged to furnish liquor to his hired help when J. C. Meyer of Sterling, Ohio, visited him in 1929. This was the custom also in Württemberg when the writer visited the Lautenbach estate in 1910. Here each man received one liter of *Most* (a fermented liquor made from pears) per day as part of his regular wage. Each woman doing the same work received one-half liter.

41 Although the Amish conference as yet had taken no official action on the liquor question, John K. Yoder felt confident that he could depend on conference support. Strong local public sentiment also was building up against the breweries in the neighborhood. Finally, the 1873 conference considered the question: "Can it be recognized as right, according to the intent of God's Word, that a brother in the church should, for the sake of gain, manufacture or brew intoxicating drinks through which many a poor wife has suffered great harm?" The following committee was appointed on this question: Elias Riehl and John Esch of Pennsylvania; Christian Schlegel of Illinois; Nicholas King of Ohio; and Joseph Yoder of Indiana. John K. Yoder spoke energetically on the question, and was vigorously supported by John P. King of Logan county, Ohio, and Samuel Yoder of Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, in advocating a negative answer to the question.

The latter gave a powerful admonition on the subject, saying that "since such a vocation as manufacturing intoxicating drinks brings forth evil fruits and is of great damage to the church, it simply could not be tolerated any longer in the church of God. . . . No animal becomes intoxicated and only man . . . does it. Such a person therefore places himself lower than the animals. . . . He weakens his power of thought. . . . A befogged mind can scarcely find its way on earth, much less the narrow road to eternal life." The committee then first declared that "We do not recognize it as being right to manufacture or to brew intoxicating drinks because no good fruits appear from it." This was followed by the adoption of a recommendation "that the ministers in the churches where such things are manufactured should exercise the greatest possible diligence to allay this great evil as soon as possible."

tobacco raising instead of beer brewing. None of his business ventures prospered, however, and he died a poor man.

After Peter Rich was excommunicated, his wife refused to practice the custom of avoidance and requested that she also be excommunicated.[42] For a time the Riches then worshiped with the Mennonite congregation in Canton and the Amish Mennonite congregation in Trenton, Butler county, Ohio, near Cincinnati. Peter Rich used to say that it cost him fifty dollars every time he went to church. He attended church services at Trenton about once a month. Then several of their friends in the northern part of the settlement joined the Riches in starting a new congregation. For a time they held services in a church south of Sterling on a little elevation across the road from the Amwell (Sterling) cemetery where members of the Rich family are buried. Somewhat later the group built a church at the south edge of the village of Sterling. The congregation has now disbanded and the few remaining members have united with the General Conference Mennonite Church in Wadsworth. The little meetinghouse in Sterling has been purchased by a Progressive Brethren congregation.[43]

THE COMING OF THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

Within a year of the excommunication of Peter Rich the resulting agitation had spent itself, and it became evident that for the third time a serious division in the congregation had been averted. But now another disturbing situation arose. Services at Oak Grove no longer met the needs of children and young people. The biweekly preaching, the congregation's only worship service conducted entirely in German, failed to enlist the interest of the younger groups. By this time German was becoming a forgotten language. Some of the older people could read and write that language because they had been enrolled in German schools conducted in the Center schoolhouse and for a few terms in a vacant house, possibly also in a private home, by Otto Hasenklever of Stark county.[44] Some of the young

42 Some of the early Amish conferences devoted entire half-day sessions to a discussion whether shunning must be observed in the home between husband and wife if one or the other has been excommunicated. Some bishops maintained vigorously that it must.

43 For information regarding the excommunication of Peter Rich and the founding of the Amish church in Sterling the writer is indebted to a descendant of Rich and to Preacher J. A. Liechty whose mother, Elizabeth (Rich) Liechty, was a sister of the Rich brothers, "Mart" and "Pete." While in Wayne county the "beer Amish" became General Conference Mennonites, something the opposite occurred in Henry county, Iowa. There the General Conference group was more opposed to liquor than was the Amish group from which it seceded.

44 The following paragraph translated from a German letter written by Otto Hasenklever from his home in Maximo, Stark county, Ohio, to a friend in Logan or Champaign county, Ohio, possibly Preacher John P. King, refers to his work as a German teacher: "It was my intention to hang schoolteaching—as one is accustomed to call it—on the nail, and to take up another vocation. But I have changed this decision and will if it is God's will undertake a school again next winter. Here in Beechland [now Beech, originally *Buchenland*]

people were attending Sunday schools in nearby schoolhouses conducted under the auspices of the American Sunday School Union. Even the Brethren ministers opposed these schools on account of the way in which they were conducted. Jacob Miller, son of a Lutheran family living in Smithville, and a certain Sollie King conducted an American Sunday School Union Sunday school in public schoolhouses and finally in the Paradise Union church even before the Brethren Sunday schools were organized. Tradition has it that these two young men were not church members when they organized their Sunday schools in the late 1860's, and that when no minister was present they opened and closed the school without prayer. Some Amish Mennonite young people attended the English Sunday school at Georgetown two miles north and one-half mile east of the Oak Grove church even after the German Sunday school had been organized at Oak Grove.

The organization of the Oak Grove Sunday school is best narrated in the following account[45] written by C. Z. Yoder in 1918.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL OF THE AMISH MENNONITE CHURCH OF WAYNE COUNTY, OHIO

After some consideration on the merits and demerits of a Sunday school, it happened that Bishop John P. King of West Liberty, Ohio, visited the church in the winter of 1870-71, who by request of our Bishop John K. Yoder gave a talk in public relative to the advantages and the importance of a Sunday school which was favorably received generally by the members of the church.

On April 30, 1871, by the consent of the church with the encouragement of the ministers a Sunday school was organized at Oak Grove church, with Samuel Plank, David Smucker, and C. Z. Yoder as superintendents who had charge of the singing also. None of them had any previous experience in Sunday school, with no lesson helps to aid them, and no song books with notes to sing from in the Sunday school.

Since the preaching services were all conducted in the German language consequently the Sunday school must also be German, so that many of the grown young people were taught the German alphabet in the Sunday school before they could read the Bible. This was considered by some to be an important phase of the Sunday school so as to retain the German language in our religious services. Others however could see a higher and nobler motive in the Sunday school than simply to learn

it will not go very well in the next few years because the young people around here have learned enough German for their present need and another group of youngsters must grow up before one can begin a German school here that will pay. Several schools have been offered to me but I am not yet decided where I will go and will keep an open mind on the matter for some time before I make decision. I think, however, to continue making my home here in Buchenland. If there would be an outlook in your community to conduct a German school next winter I would not be disinclined to spend a few months with you for this purpose, and I would like to hear your opinion on it." Tradition in Logan county recalls a German school in John P. King's congregation in the early 1870's. J. C. Meyer's mother was a pupil of Hasenklever in Stark county.

45 Capitalization, punctuation, and abbreviations have been edited to conform more nearly to modern practice.

to read German and to maintain it. Having no lesson helps our time was improved by those who could read German in Book study in the Sunday school, usually taking a whole chapter for one lesson, all being taken from the New Testament Scriptures. One of the difficult problems confronting the superintendents was to secure teachers for all the classes. Parents generally were quite willing to send their children to Sunday school but entertained the idea that the Sunday school was not intended for adults. Then too many were poor German readers which made it most difficult for them to teach a class.

In 1881 the Pleasant Hill church was built to accommodate those who had quite a distance to come to the Oak Grove church, when the request soon came to have Sunday school at that place. Accordingly a Sunday school was organized there on June 10, 1883. From that time forth we have had Sunday school at both places alternately.

In 1892 several of our Sunday school workers attended and took an active part in the first Mennonite Sunday School Conference held in the United States, near Goshen, Indiana, at the Clinton Frame church, October 6 to 8.[46] Greater zeal and inspiration was awakened there for the good cause by all of our people who were assembled there. From that time forth our Sunday school was evergreen with increased interest.[47] Our workers also at that Sunday School Conference became enthused with a missionary spirit as never before, receiving a clearer vision of the needs of the field, also realizing greater responsibilities as regards that last and great commandment of our Lord and Saviour to spread the Gospel among all nations of the world.

German lesson helps were introduced into our Sunday school from the German Evangelical Association of Cleveland, Ohio, several years before any lesson helps were published by the Mennonite Publishing Co. [Elkhart, Indiana] Also a new German song book with notes was introduced [about 1879 ?], which added interest to the school generally. A few English classes also were organized for the benefit of those who could not read German, as gradually the prejudice to the English became less in the church. One of the commendable features of this Sunday school was the memorizing of Scripture verses from its beginning. Several thousand verses were committed to memory every year by the children and young people, which was a great blessing to many as it always is to such who cultivate their memory in that way. While we recollect the inefficiency of our Sunday school superintendents and teachers, having had no experience in the beginning yet having a love for the cause, toiling on patiently, and perseveringly, we can however see that God greatly blessed the feeble efforts put forth from time to time gradually making progress, gaining in numbers as well as in spiritual activity.

46 J. M. Smucker of Orrville, Ohio, was appointed a member of the nominating committee; Lina Zook of Sterling read a paper on "The relation of the Sunday school to the church"; C. Z. Yoder took an active part in open discussion and delivered an address on "Advantages of punctuality—how attained."

47 Sunday schools continuing throughout the year were called "evergreen." Existing records of Ohio Amish Mennonite Sunday schools show that until after 1890 they were organized in early May and usually closed late in October or early November, or as soon as the weather and the roads became unsuitable for walking or for driving the open buggies. Since, like the church services, they were held biweekly, there might be only thirteen or fourteen Sunday-school sessions per year. Following the first general Sunday-school conference held at the Clinton Frame church east of Goshen, Indiana, in October, 1892, many Mennonite and Amish Mennonite Sunday schools in the Middle West became evergreen. One of the resolutions adopted at the conference was: "Resolved, That we believe Evergreen Sunday-schools, where ever tried, with fair effort have been a success in the towns and in the country; and that every Sunday-school worker should use his efforts to make his school evergreen as soon as possible." Only twelve of the thirty Sunday schools represented at the conference were evergreen in 1892.

It is but just that we give due credit to the Sunday school for much of the Christian progress that was made in the church at this place. 1. A more intelligent study of the Bible, and the memorizing of many of its precious promises and blessed commandments. 2. More spiritual activity, young people exercising their talents religiously, which gave rise to the organization of a young people's meeting which was begun at Oak Grove May 21, 1889,[48] and the next Sunday at Pleasant Hill. This work also was commenced in an informal way, the time being improved by singing, with comments on the Sunday school lesson, short talks, etc., which gradually developed to the modern young people's Bible meeting. 3. The mission spirit has become more active through the efforts of the Sunday school workers. 4. The spirit of giving systematically has been stimulated through the work of the Sunday school among the children and the older ones also.[49]

While we feel to praise God for the work that has been accomplished through the efforts of the Sunday school, yet we blush with shame that not more is being done to advance the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

For several years we had no secretary and no record was kept, so that we are not able to give the number that attended our school. I notice the average attendance of Oak Grove Sunday school in 1892 was 188, and ten years later the average was 243. In 1916-1917 the average attendance was 253. The average collection for the last year was $5.63 for each Sunday. The average attendance of the Sunday school at Pleasant Hill church is about 80.[50] C. Z. Yoder

Since, as C. Z. Yoder mentions in the above account, the Oak Grove Sunday school elected no secretary and kept no records during the early years, for reliable information the historian has been dependent on the chance discovery of former Sunday-school supplies in attics and other storage nooks or on impressions of visitors printed in the church periodicals or on letters written to publishing houses by Sunday-school workers ordering supplies for the school. There is abundant evidence, however, that the Oak Grove and Pleasant Hill Sunday school was serving a twofold purpose. It provided a training school in Bible study, public speaking, and Christian leadership for a group of consecrated young laymen who became active participants in the church-wide missionary, evangelistic, and educational renaissance of the Mennonite Church during the decades between 1890 and 1910; and it improved the social and religious tone of the community. It is true, to be sure, that there were other agencies contributing to this improvement in the life of the community: the Smithville Academy with its staff of Christian instructors headed by the beloved and respected principal, John Eberly, and later by

48 There seems to be an error in C. Z. Yoder's date at this point because May 21, 1889, fell on a Tuesday. May 21 did not fall on a Sunday during any year between 1882 and 1893. The young people's meeting might have been organized on Sunday, April 21, 1889, but more likely on May 24, 1890.

49 J. C. Meyer recalls that C. Z. Yoder regularly placed much emphasis on systematic giving as mission needs in the Mennonite Church grew.

50 For a more complete account of the history of the Oak Grove and Pleasant Hill Sunday schools see the writer's *Ohio Mennonite Sunday Schools* (Goshen, 1941) 210-31.

C. F. English; the Sunday schools conducted by the American Sunday School Union; and the wholesome influence of the Brethren element in the township. But after giving due credit to all of these, it still is true that the Oak Grove Sunday school was primarily responsible for opening the door for the young people of Oak Grove to the larger religious and cultural opportunities of which they availed themselves during the next decade.

One of the leading exercises of the Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill Sunday school was reciting Scripture verses committed to memory during the previous week. It is said that one boy, John D. Conrad, learned so many Scripture texts to be recited in Sunday school that it required the entire time of one teacher to hear his recitation.[51] During one summer quarter for which a record has been preserved the Oak Grove pupils committed to memory and recited 2,738 verses, and the Pleasant Hill pupils 604 verses. Another feature was the "special program" on the last day of the Sunday-school season, usually late in October or early in November. On the closing day in 1888 (November 18) the bishop, John K. Yoder, read an opening lesson, gave a brief address in German, and led in the opening prayer.[52] Then the prizes were distributed to the boys and girls who had committed verses to memory during the summer, the largest book to the one who had learned the largest number. On this particular occasion fifteen dollars' worth of prizes were awarded, the three largest to members of the Pleasant Hill Sunday school. Over 300 people were present. Among them were a number of non-Amish Mennonites who were asked to speak to the Sunday school. One was H. A. Mumaw who six years later founded the Elkhart Institute. Others who spoke included the superintendent and several of the teachers. During 1888 the Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill Sunday school with an average attendance of 360 in the two districts was the second largest in the county. The Sunday school was conducted in the usual democratic Amish spirit. All members of the school, whether members of the church or not, were eligible to vote for officers. At the first general Sunday-school conference C. Z. Yoder stated that the "directly interested brethren choose a few brethren as candidates and then allow all of

51 John D. Conrad later lived at Sterling, Illinois. He was the brother of Fanny Conrad Graber, mother of C. L. and J. D. Graber. It must be admitted that some of the value of the memory work was lost because, the Sunday school being conducted in German, some of the brighter pupils learned the verses by rote without comprehending their meaning. E. J. Zook, now of Goshen, Indiana, recalls that as a boy at Oak Grove he chose chapters with short verses and learned them by sound with no real understanding of their meaning. J. C. Meyer learned to read German in Sunday school as late as 1896.

52 German continued to be the language of the Oak Grove Sunday school until after the turn of the century. Jacob G. Meyer taught a German class of older men, Graber, Richard, and others, until his death in 1930. Much later the Sunday school still ordered German lesson helps for several older men and women.

the members of the school to vote and the one receiving the highest number of votes is declared elected."

FROM THE OLD ORDER TO THE NEW

By the late 1880's, despite a live, active Sunday school, few changes had occurred in the congregational rules and discipline during the almost two decades since the school's organization. The young people, especially the young men, began to find some of the outward distinguishing marks of the Amish Mennonite church irksome and they questioned the Scriptural basis for some of the practices. All the services were conducted in the German language, the tunes to the hymns were sung in unison from hymnbooks that contained no notes, and no Sunday evening meetings were held in the meetinghouse. Men were required to cut their hair in the Amish fashion and to permit their beards to grow as soon as they began to receive instruction preparatory to baptism. They could not wear caps, but summer and winter were required to wear the black broad-brimmed, low-crowned hat. They fastened their outer garments with hooks and eyes instead of buttons. At an earlier period boys in Amish Mennonite families wore these cultural remnants of an earlier era even before they united with the church; but now some of the nonmembers began to go to a barber shop to have their hair "shingled"; that is, cut short around the neck and above the ears. They purchased "store clothes," caps with ear tabs, and, for Sunday wear, even stiffly starched shirt bosoms and standing collars. Scores of them failed to unite with the church. Some demanded English Sunday-school classes because they could not read German and could understand it only imperfectly. A few were beginning to attend English Sunday schools conducted in the township. Parents became alarmed and joined the rising cry for a more liberal interpretation of the age-old rules of discipline. The bishop and the older ministers could not be expected to favor the introduction of English into the service, because for a lifetime they had been phrasing their religious concepts in the German language. On the other hand, one of the younger ministers was ready and eager to begin the use of English, and to lay aside some of the time-honored practices.

Another problem was the Sunday evening "singing," an informal social event held in the homes of members. Several incidents involving rowdyism and boisterous conduct had brought it into disfavor. C. Z. Yoder, C. K. Hostetler, and a few others of the younger church and Sunday-school lay leaders felt that something must be done to help the large well-intentioned majority to spend their Sun-

day evenings more profitably. The various circumstances mentioned above combined, between 1887 and 1890, to produce two major, almost simultaneous, changes at Oak Grove: a much more liberal church discipline and the first regularly authorized Sunday evening meeting in the Oak Grove meetinghouse.

Although the change in discipline was the more important of the two in preserving the unity of the congregation, chronologically the young people's meeting came first. It also was the first such meeting in the state for Amish Mennonite young people and served as a model for many others.[53] The story of the independent development of this institution in Wayne county is a thrilling page in the history of Ohio Mennonitism. As already mentioned, its predecessor was the time-honored unorganized, informal Sunday evening "singing" held at the homes of members of the congregation. Tradition hands down some incidents that indicate the loose undisciplined nature of the meeting. Teen-age boys not yet old enough to "go out in company, hung around outside" and played uncouth jokes on the young men and women who were inside singing. They molested the buggies and horses and committed other minor misdemeanors. Sometimes attempts at discipline by those whose conveyances had been disturbed led to scenes which were hardly becoming in connection with a Sunday evening meeting. The elders winked at these incidents because, after all, "young people must have their fun," and the Sunday evening "singing" was a time-honored institution affording an opportunity for group life and for young people of both sexes to become acquainted. Its advantages seemed to outweigh its disadvantages.

It was not only the more mature Sunday-school workers at Oak Grove who were disturbed by the social problems connected with the singing. The Brethren young people in the neighborhood struggled with the same problem. There must be some better, more profitable way for the teen-agers and other young folks of the community to spend their Sunday evenings! Finally in 1888 Charley Fetters, a young Brethren layman who had been elected superintendent of the Sunday school at the Paradise Union church, thought of a plan to provide a new form of Sunday evening meeting. He ordered a new hymnal and asked C. Z. Yoder to help the young people learn the songs. The new singing announced for Sunday evening, and held at the Paradise Union church, was so well attended that it seems eventually to have displaced the informal singing of the young people of the

53 See "The First Young People's Bible Meeting," in the *Gospel Herald* (October 4, 1928) 21:554-55, for an account of the organization of this meeting and of the other young people's Bible meeting (at Elkhart, Indiana), also entitled to be called the "first" young people's Bible meeting.

Oak Grove congregation entirely. Then some one suggested that this meeting would afford a fitting opportunity to give talks on social, cultural, Christian topics of interest to young people. This proved a popular feature. C. Z. Yoder and C. K. Hostetler regularly prepared and delivered talks on such subjects.

As time went on other features were introduced. The meeting, while continuing emphasis on singing, assumed more and more the nature of a Bible reading. Considerable time was devoted to a discussion of interesting points in the Sunday-school lesson. The meeting increased in popularity. C. Z. Yoder's efforts in teaching the Gospel songs and hymns were greatly appreciated as they were for years in Mennonite circles East and West. The usefulness of the meeting was recognized not only by the Brethren who regularly attended at the Paradise Union church, and by the young people at Oak Grove, but by Mennonites and members of a number of other denominations. Many times the building was crowded to capacity. Widespread disappointment was occasioned by the closing of the meeting in the late autumn of 1888 on account of the almost impassable condition of the unimproved roads of that period. In the spring of 1889, however, the meeting was continued again with renewed interest. One reason for its great popularity was that it was conducted in English, while at Oak Grove the Sunday school and church services continued to use German only, for a number of years longer.

Meanwhile, for reasons mentioned above, many of the young people who were members of Oak Grove Amish Mennonite families failed to unite with the church of their fathers. Ministers, Sunday-school workers and teachers, and many of the parents began to feel that some kind of change must be made to interest their grown young people in membership in the Oak Grove church. A growing spirit of controversy became manifest extending even to the ministry. Preacher David Hostetler and Deacon Solomon K. Plank became impatient with the slow progress of the congregation in adopting a new discipline and the newer methods of conducting the church services.[54]

54 According to records preserved by C. Z. Yoder several changes had taken place in the ministry in the Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill congregation. In 1888 Jonathan Smucker died. He had been ordained in 1861 on the same day as Christian K. Yoder who moved to Logan county, Ohio, in 1871. John Smiley had died in 1879. David Z. Yoder, son of John K. Yoder, was chosen by lot and ordained deacon on September 22, 1872, and in 1874, again chosen by lot, he was ordained to the ministry. David Hostetler and Stephen Miller were chosen by lot and ordained deacons on September 30, 1879. Stephen Miller soon afterward moved to Wayland, Iowa. A year later, October 10, 1880, David Hostetler, again chosen by lot, was ordained minister. Peter Conrad and Solomon K. Plank were chosen by lot and ordained deacons on May 9, 1881. In 1889 at the time when Preacher David Hostetler and Deacon Solomon K. Plank with a few of their adherents withdrew from the main body worshiping at Oak Grove and Pleasant Hill, the ministerial body consisted of Bishop John K. Yoder; Preacher David Z. Yoder, a son of the bishop; Preacher David Hostetler, and Deacons Peter Conrad and Solomon K. Plank. Stephen Miller, mentioned above, was born in Holmes county, Ohio, in 1844, and in 1866 married Catharine Degler who died in 1869. On December 1, 1871, he married Sarah Miller. About a year after he was ordained deacon at Oak Grove he with

Finally, during the summer of 1889 they formulated a plan to start a new organization. On Sunday, September 1, 1889, when the congregation held its regular Sunday morning service at the Oak Grove meetinghouse they appointed a meeting at Pleasant Hill for their adherents. On the next Sunday they met at Oak Grove when the regular service was at Pleasant Hill. The Sunday evening meeting continued at the Paradise Union church with interest at a high point.

At first the strategy of the Oak Grove ministers and bishop seems to have been to ignore Hostetler and his group in their attempt to foster a rival congregation. Later, however, on a Sunday when Hostetler and his adherents were meeting at Pleasant Hill and the regular congregation at Oak Grove, the bishop, John K. Yoder, announced that instead of holding services at Pleasant Hill, the regular meeting place for the next Sunday, they would attend Hostetler's service at Oak Grove. They did so and the bishop and his ministers occupied seats in the auditorium instead of the seats on the platform reserved for the ministers. At the conclusion of the meeting John K. Yoder announced a members' meeting for Sunday, December 22, to consider the differences between his party and Hostetler's adherents. The resulting meeting made decisions that were as new as they were startling to many of Bishop Yoder's co-workers in the more conservative Amish Mennonite congregations.

THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN

In the first place the meeting, with the bishop's consent, appointed a committee of seven laymen to draw up a set of resolutions covering the chief points of controversy in the congregation and to submit them to the congregation for approval. This was in line with the traditional Amish practice of congregational rule. However, it also was traditional practice to call in a committee of ministers and bishops from neighboring congregations to assist the ministers in dealing with congregational problems. John K. Yoder, stickler though he was for the old practices, seems to have felt that any outside committee would merely complicate the situation in his congregation and that it could not be settled satisfactorily along traditional lines. Yoder also had confidence in laymen. Evidence of his democratic spirit is found in the report of the 1872 Amish conference. When someone asked the question whether a deacon had the right to exhort and to

his family moved to Iowa and purchased a farm. About a year later he was ordained minister. On January 13, 1893, while en route to Elkhart, Indiana, to attend the annual meeting of the Mennonite Evangelizing and Benevolent Board of America, he was fatally injured when the railway coach in which he was riding was derailed. He died four days later. He was the father of Dr. S. T. Miller of Elkhart, Indiana.

read the Scriptures when need arises, he spoke at some length asserting that not only the deacon but also a layman had the right to exhort, to lead in prayer, and to "allow himself to be used when it is requested, especially in case of necessity." Even before the committee of seven was appointed by Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill he must have known what steps would need to be taken to satisfy his congregation. He must have realized also that these steps would not meet the approval of all the members of his congregation, and that too radical a departure from the present rules and regulations would cause some of his friends in the more conservative Amish congregations to disfellowship him. In his mind, however, the peace and fellowship of his own congregation stood above every other consideration provided it continued to rest on the foundation of the Holy Scriptures.

The document prepared by the committee of seven deserves a high place in the annals of the Oak Grove congregation. The following is a free translation of the German resolutions prepared by the committee and adopted by the congregation. The committee worked from Thursday, December 26, to Saturday, December 28, 1889, so as to have its report ready for the annual meeting of the congregation, which was commonly held on January 1. For some reason, however, some of the decisions of the congregation are dated January 4. It is possible either that the meeting was postponed to that date or that on account of the importance of the decisions involved the meeting lasted for more than one day.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE CHOSEN DECEMBER 22, 1889

These brethren met on December 26, 1889. After they had called on the Lord for His help and blessing, C. Z. Yoder was elected chairman and Benjamin Gerig secretary.

First decision.[55] It was decided that when five out of the seven brethren unite on one point then the decision should be adopted provided that the opposition has been sufficiently shown from the Word of God. We also believe that there should be the same majority and rule for it to carry in the congregation.

Second decision. In regard to the covering of the head by the brethren, we decide in accordance with I Corinthians 11:4 that it is not fitting for brethren to pray or preach or to be present as auditors either in the regular church service or at funerals with the head covered.

Third decision. We find also according to I Corinthians 11 (*passim*) that it is improper for women to be present in church services and in family worship with uncovered head. But they shall cover their head in accordance with Christian moderation and simplicity.

Fourth decision. We do not consider it as Christian but as sinful to use the hair as an instrument of pride [literally, to observe pride with the hair] as frequently happens; but because we do not find any Scripture

55 The manuscript does not indicate the various items as "resolutions" but as discussions, conclusions or proceedings. The committee used the abbreviation, *Verh.*, for *Verhandlung*.

against shingling [the hair of the men], we will exercise patience if it is done in moderation. II Peter 1:5, 6.

Fifth decision. Since the men maintain that caps for men are warmer than hats, we will be satisfied with that, but it should be done in simplicity.

Sixth decision. In regard to the beard: We desire to exercise patience with the younger brethren, but we believe it to be a Christian regulation, as brethren become older and especially such as enter the marriage state to wear a regular beard, as it always was the rule and ordinance, but it shall not be permitted to wear a mustache and to shave off the rest. Romans 12:2; Isaiah 50:6.

Seventh decision. In regard to buttons: We would be satisfied with the rule which has been our custom, but because it appears that it [that is, the rule regarding the wearing of hooks and eyes instead of buttons] no longer serves the peace and progress of the congregation, we believe that the Lord will have patience with us if we exercise patience if such persons who are not of that mind may be served [with the emblems at the communion service]. But we believe that everything should be in simplicity and moderation and that everyone should consider what his object in this [change] might be on both sides, men and women. Colossians 3:17.

Eighth decision. Furthermore, it is our intention to follow the Lamb of God as Peter and Paul have indicated. We believe also that Christian parents should rear their children in such an order even though they are not yet members of the church and not adorn them with pride; for example, dressing their daughters with hats and all such worldly fashions. Deuteronomy 22:5; I Peter 3:3; I Timothy 2:9.

Ninth decision. Because we are commanded to avoid all appearance of evil we should not attend so-called Christmas boxes or parties or frequent saloons or disorderly singings and other similar things. I Thessalonians 5:22.

Tenth decision. We hold it as wrong and harmful to the congregation that if a counsel or a counsel meeting is held, the proceedings are reported outside the congregation. I Peter 2:17; also Matthew 18.

Eleventh decision. We believe that it would be more practical not to report the administration of the poor fund in a public meeting of the congregation because many sensitive people may be harmed or saddened by it and because we should not let the right hand know what the left hand does. Matthew 6:1-4.

Twelfth decision. We consider it harmful for the ministers to come before the congregation with a divided opinion. If they cannot agree they may call (choose) a committee of brethren, or ministers from other congregations.

Thirteenth decision. We also believe that after mutual deliberation among the ministers other [than Sunday] preaching appointments may be served, and we also recognize it as upbuilding if ministers from other congregations (of our own brethren in the faith) come to us to hold series of meetings days or evenings.

Fourteenth decision. It would please us and it would also be upbuilding if brethren and sisters who are native here but have united with other congregations (of our fellow believers) could unite with us.[56]

56 This point is not quite clear. It seems to mean that those who married other Mennonites of like faith were encouraged to bring letters to Oak Grove. It may well be that some waited to see what the outcome of the current issue would be, and others may have felt unwelcome because they did not abide by the strict rules. JCM.

Fifteenth decision. Rules and regulations which we have not named in the foregoing decisions we desire to leave to the congregation.

Sixteenth decision. We also decided it to be evangelical to have an evangelizing fund according to Romans 10.

In conclusion, according to Colossians 3:14, we are above all to put on love which is the bond of perfectness and the peace of God is to rule in our hearts.

Some of the items mentioned in these articles or resolutions were current subjects of controversy. Others seem to have been included to win general approval of the entire list. But the more important articles were connected with the withdrawal from the congregation by Preacher David Hostetler and his adherents. The committee was certain of support for the second resolution, although a few men in some Amish congregations still wore their hats and outer garments during a funeral service.[57] The committee was certain also of support for the third resolution referring to the ordinance still universally observed by the women members of the Mennonite Church.

In proposing the fourth, however, the committee realized that it was venturing on new ground. Although some of the younger men, nonmembers, were having their hair "shingled" by the village barber instead of wearing it long, the ministers had up to now refused the bread and wine of the communion service to anyone who departed from the rule prescribing long hair for men. The fifth resolution gave congregational sanction to another new custom, wearing a cap with ear tabs instead of the regulation broad-brimmed, low-crowned black felt hat. The sixth marked another radical departure from a time-honored custom. Up to this time many young men of Oak Grove Amish families refused to unite with the church of their fathers because doing so would involve wearing a beard. The seventh, referring to a traditional rather than a Scriptural requirement, proposed another long step away from the rules of the Oak Grove church in effect since its founding seventy years before, when hooks and eyes were part of every Amishman's garb.

The eighth resolution seems to indicate fear of a drift away from the Amish practice of dressing children with the same modesty as that prescribed for their elders. Unlike the Mennonites on the American frontier, the Amish usually dressed their children in the same garb worn by members of the church. The ninth resolution condemning "box socials" had considerable support in the congregation and in the neighborhood as well. They were held in the country schoolhouses on a Friday or Saturday evening primarily as a money-making

57 In 1895 the *Herald of Truth* printed an account written by a certain James J. Donoghue in which he reports attending a Mennonite funeral service during which all the men wore their hats. See above, p. 169, and footnote 25a. The earlier reason for wearing outer garments at funerals was no longer valid in 1889.

affair. For these occasions the young women prepared a box lunch. The boxes were sold to the highest bidder and the successful buyer received not only the box and the lunch but also the privilege of eating it with the young woman who had prepared it. A few cases of rowdyism and other causes of dissastisfaction had brought these affairs into disrepute. People old and young, but especially the young women, welcomed the ban on box socials. Although, as mentioned earlier, alcoholic beverages had caused trouble in the neighborhood and even in the Oak Grove congregation at an earlier date, very few of the boys and young men of Amish Mennonite families patronized saloons at this time. The disorderly singings of an earlier day were already being displaced by the Sunday evening meetings conducted by C. Z. Yoder and others at the Paradise Union church.

The three following resolutions, ten, eleven, and twelve, refer to matters that were currently causing concern in the congregation. The dispute between David Hostetler and the other ministers was the immediate occasion for the appointment of the committee of seven. Some members felt that their differences should have been settled by a local committee of laymen or, if that proved impossible, by a committee of ministers called in from another Amish Mennonite congregation; at all events that their differences should not have led to an open rupture.

Resolution thirteen marked another radical departure from the "old order" which provided for no preaching services except the regular biweekly Sunday morning meeting held alternately at Oak Grove and Pleasant Hill. Funerals and weddings were the only exception. The semiannual counsel meeting and the communion service were sometimes held on Monday or Saturday. This resolution opened the door for evangelistic efforts in the congregation, "series of meetings" or "continued meetings," as they were also called. For the present, however, the resolution excluded John S. Coffman and other Mennonite evangelists as not being of "our own brethren in the faith." But it made possible the first evangelistic meetings ever held at Oak Grove. These meetings were conducted in 1890 by D. J. Johns,[58] a progressive young evangelist from northern Indiana where

58 D. J. Johns, a progressive young schoolteacher of Amish parentage, had been elected superintendent of the Clinton Frame Amish Mennonite Sunday school even before he had become a member of the congregation. Later he united with the Clinton Frame congregation and not long after was chosen by lot and ordained to the ministry. Urged by his wife, he seriously considered leaving the Indiana Amish Mennonite conference with the group that withdrew from the Clinton Frame congregation to form the Silver Street congregation east of Goshen, which is now a member of the General Conference Mennonite Church. Probably under the impact of the progressive measures of the Mennonite congregation at Elkhart, J. S. Coffman's revival meetings, and the use of the English language in religious services, the Indiana Amish Mennonite ministers and congregations showed progressive tendencies several years earlier than their brethren in the Western and in the Ohio and Eastern A.M. conferences.

a new discipline and new methods of church and Sunday-school work were infusing new life and energy into the Amish Mennonite congregations. The last resolution, added as an afterthought, was almost certainly the work of C. Z. Yoder, an early promoter of missionary work by the Amish Mennonite church. It afforded support to the Mennonite Evangelizing Committee, organized at Elkhart, Indiana, in 1882.[59]

After the committee of seven had prepared its report the resolutions were presented at the annual business meeting and counsel, apparently on January 4, 1890. No report of the meeting seems to have been preserved, but in view of later developments it seems safe to assume that the resolutions were adopted. The reasons for the separate meetings conducted by Preacher David Hostetler and Deacon Solomon K. Plank no longer existing, the two groups now met once more as one. Thus, one of the objects of the sixteen resolutions was attained: the peace and unity of the Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill congregation was preserved. David Hostetler, however, asked for his church letter on the grounds that he intended to spend the winter visiting and preaching in Pennsylvania where a letter would be useful in showing that he was in good standing at home. He spent the next few weeks visiting and preaching in a number of churches in the East. On his return he presented his letter at the Martin's Mennonite Church near Orrville and was accepted as a member and minister. Later when the Salem Mennonite meetinghouse was erected south of Smithville, to provide a church home for Mennonites who lived too far from Martin's to attend there, Hostetler and Deacon Plank be-

59 Christian Z. Yoder (1845-1939), known church-wide as C. Z. Yoder, was the youngest son of Bishop John K. Yoder. He was born in Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, and accompanied his father's family to Wayne county, Ohio, where he spent the remainder of his life. At an early age he began his service to his home community. He was a successful farmer from 1865 until his retirement in 1895, and introduced new agricultural practices in the community, especially in the culture of vegetables and berries and in the use of the greenhouse. He was an organizer of and speaker at farm institutes, and a contributor to farm papers. For many years he was a member of the township school board during the period when the one-room schoolhouses were built and, at his suggestion, each received its artistic planting of pine trees. C. Z. Yoder's interest in missions, indicated by the early missionary collections of the Oak Grove Sunday school and the young people's meeting, probably led to his appointment as a director of the Mennonite Evangelizing and Benevolent Board of America when that organization replaced the Mennonite Evangelizing Committee in 1892 to make room on its board for Amish Mennonites. See *Herald of Truth* (February 1, 1892) 43.

As early as 1866 he organized and led a singing school at the Center schoolhouse, and as mentioned above, he helped organize the Oak Grove Sunday school in 1871 and served as superintendent for 22 years. He was ordained deacon of the Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill congregation in 1890 and minister in 1904, and assisted in the organization of the Ohio Sunday School Conference, beginning in 1895. For many years he served as an evangelist, his preaching and singing ministry taking him to Amish and Mennonite communities in all sections of the country until C. Z. Yoder became a household name throughout the church. Interestingly, this church-wide ministry occurred after he had reached the age of 50, or even after 59 when he was ordained to the ministry. The following is a partial list of the positions he held in the Mennonite Church: 1899-1906, vice-president, Mennonite Board of Charitable Homes and Missions; 1906-11, vice-president, Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities; 1911-20, president of this Board; 1920-28, chairman of the Missions Committee of the Board; after 1928, honorary member of the committee. He served on the Music Committee of General Conference from the time of its organization, and assisted in the compilation of the German and English hymnals published by that committee between 1894 and 1927.

came charter members of the Salem congregation. Both continued faithful and acceptable service in the Sunday school, missionary, and charitable activities of the Mennonite Church for many years. Only a handful of relatives and friends followed them to the Salem congregation.

THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S MEETING

The counsel meeting held at Oak Grove on January 4, 1890, considered one question not mentioned in the resolutions, but one that had been in the mind of many parents for some time. They were disturbed that the loyalty of the young people was being drawn to the new meeting being held at the Paradise Union church. Young people of various denominations, and older ones too, crowded the church every Sunday evening to learn new songs and to hear addresses and a discussion of the Sunday-school lesson by the popular young laymen, C. Z. Yoder, C. K. Hostetler, and others. Members of the Oak Grove congregation were asking: "Why can we not have in our own meetinghouse this popular meeting attended by our own young people and conducted by our own members?" A few conservatives insisted: "But an evening meeting is certain to open the way for disorders of various kinds. Besides we do not hold evening meetings in our Amish Mennonite meetinghouses!" By an overwhelming majority, however, the congregation at Oak Grove invited the young people's meeting at Paradise to the Oak Grove meetinghouse. The first meeting was held at Oak Grove in May, 1890. Just why the transfer from Paradise to Oak Grove was delayed to that date is not clear.

As the young people's meeting at the Prairie Street Mennonite Church in Elkhart was the forerunner of similar meetings in the Mennonite congregations in Indiana and Ohio, so the meeting at Oak Grove served as a model for such meetings among the Amish congregations in Ohio and Pennsylvania. Although the two meetings sprang up simultaneously, each had an entirely independent origin. The nature of the program of the Oak Grove young people's meeting is preserved in the words of a correspondent to the *Herald of Truth* who, in May, 1891, gave the following description of the program:

> In connection with our Sunday school we have a young people's meeting held alternately at Oak Grove and Pleasant Hill [in the evening]. In connection with these meetings we spend some time in singing. Then we read over the Sunday school lesson for the coming Sunday and ask questions pertaining to the lesson. Then we spend some time repeating Scripture verses on a certain subject or containing a certain key-word. Then we usually have an address from some of our older members. Last Sunday evening Bro. C. Z. Yoder spoke to us on "Non-resistance." We also

have addresses on "Secret Societies," "The Evils of Intemperance," etc. We have eleven applicants for membership (in the congregation).

Evidence that the Oak Grove young people's meeting served as a model for others is contained in a report of the Logan county young people's meeting held alternately at South Union and Walnut Grove and organized during the winter of 1891-92.[60]

EVANGELISTIC MEETINGS

The foundation had now been laid for better relations between the young people, nonmembers of the congregation, and their spiritual leaders at Oak Grove. But the earlier insistence of the congregation and the ministers on the strict enforcement of the "old order"—hats in winter instead of caps for men, hooks and eyes, and long hair for men—had caused a feeling of resentment against the bishop because it had fallen to his lot to discipline offenders and to refuse the bread and wine of communion to those who failed to conform. This had caused a serious breach between him and some of his young people. On one occasion someone scribbled on the wall of the ministers' counsel room in the meetinghouse the words: "John K. Yoder, King of the Amish." This hurt the aging bishop who had given nearly thirty-five years of his life to conscientious service to his congregation and to maintaining the Eighteen Articles as a heritage of the Amish Mennonite church. He mentioned it caustically in a sermon, but scores of the young people of both sexes remained irreconcilable and refused to unite with the church.

The time had come when he must turn to younger ministers and agree to new methods. He had been schooled in shepherding a flock of believers and enforcing obedience to the age-old Amish regulations by the strict enforcement of the ban. To invite young people to unite with the congregation it had been necessary only to admonish parents that it was their duty to see to it that their young people

60 Levi Hooley, of Champaign county, Ohio, a member of the so-called Miller church which had withdrawn from the Amish Mennonite congregations in Logan and Champaign counties about 1880 and had been accepted as a congregation in the Indiana Amish Mennonite conference, visited in Wayne county, Ohio, on August 2, 1891. He gave a short talk in the Sunday school and again in the young people's meeting in the evening. He was much impressed by the expressional activities which the latter opened to young people.

On his return home he organized a similar meeting at the Oak Grove church in Champaign county. For the subsequent development of this meeting see the *MQR* (January 1930) 4:48. The report of a similar meeting organized in the adjoining county, Logan, during the winter of 1891-92 indicates that it copied not only its general character but the details of the program. The meeting was held at South Union and Walnut Grove alternately every Sunday evening. "First, several hymns, followed by Scripture reading and prayer by the leader. Then the meeting read the Sunday lesson in concert from the Mennonite 'Lesson Helps' and the leader asked some questions on the lesson. This was followed by the recitation of Scripture texts, each one present having committed to memory a verse containing the text-word announced on the preceding Sunday evening. Several speakers then delivered a brief address on an assigned topic. These addresses were interspersed with singing appropriate hymns."

presented themselves for instruction and baptism at the proper age. Most of them had been doing so. There were always a few who did not, but since they were a small minority, their loss was scarcely felt. By the late eighties, however, the classes seeking instruction were becoming a minority among those of church age, and the nonmember majority was actively seeking progressive Christian leadership. Preacher David Hostetler's withdrawal from the main body at Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill had been an unsuccessful attempt to supply this leadership. Ever solicitous for the peace and prosperity of his congregation, John K. Yoder now prepared to implement the thirteenth resolution adopted at the special counsel held on January 4, 1890. He called D. J. Johns of the progressive Indiana Amish Mennonite conference to hold at Oak Grove a series of meetings (and evening meetings at that!), a new device to invite young people into church fellowship.[61]

D. J. Johns' meetings at Oak Grove and Pleasant Hill early in 1890 resulted in the conversion of forty young people of the Oak Grove neighborhood. Many of these during the following decades became leaders in the religious and cultural life of the Amish Mennonite church. Among them were I. W. Royer, son of Brethren parents, minister, missionary, and Sunday-school executive; Chauncey J. King, singing school teacher; and Silvanus Yoder, schoolteacher and Sunday-school worker. After the usual period of instruction forty-two young people were ready to be received into the fellowship of the Oak Grove congregation. It was a time of great rejoicing. Possibly because this was the first occasion on which young men were to be received as members at Oak Grove without the usual hooks and eyes, and with their hair "shingled," John K. Yoder invited two bishops, Sebastian Gerig of Iowa and D. J. Johns of Indiana, to assist in the baptismal services. Preacher Isaac A. Miller, of Holmes county, who later moved to Wayne county, also was present.[62] The baptismal

61 D. J. Johns in the late eighties was active in his home conference and in a cautious manner had held a few evangelistic meetings. In 1889 he with John F. Funk of Elkhart conducted a series of meetings at the South Union Amish Mennonite church in Logan county, Ohio. The meetings were successful but the local ministers were disturbed because a dozen of the new converts were determined to unite with the Mennonite church rather than with the South Union congregation, or with the Miller group which had seceded from the old church in 1880 and had been accepted into the fellowship of the Indiana A.M. conference. Possibly to induce the dissatisfied young converts to change their mind the Logan county ministers invited Johns back in November to baptize his converts and conduct the fall communion service. Following the services at South Union, D. J. Johns held meetings of an evangelistic nature on three successive evenings. The meetings on Saturday and Sunday evening were reported as "largely attended." The above-mentioned dozen, however, remaining irreconcilable, eventually were baptized into the Mennonite church and became the nucleus of the Bethel Mennonite church at West Liberty, Ohio.

62 Preacher Isaac A. Miller, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Moses B. Miller, of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, was born May 4, 1839. He was married to Catherine Yoder in 1860. After her death in 1886 he married Magdalena, widow of Simon Miller, in 1888. When he assisted in the services in Wayne county in 1890, he was living in Holmes county. Apparently pleased with the ecclesiastical climate of Wayne county, he moved there in 1891. During the next year he made an extended evangelizing tour, stopping in Howard county, Indiana, and going on to Lyon and

services conducted on Saturday were followed by the semiannual all-day communion service at the Pleasant Hill church on Sunday and a similar service at Oak Grove on Monday. The visiting ministers conducted services of an evangelistic nature on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings.

The correspondent who reported these events to the editor of the *Herald of Truth* evidently belonged to the group that had not been sympathetic with the previous conservative program of the Oak Grove congregation. He closes his report of the week-end meetings with the following remark: "After several years of ups and downs, during which husks of contention and criticism formed a large proportion of spiritual food on which some of the poor starving souls at this place have been trying to keep alive, we have at last been favored by what seems to be a 'better breeze.' "

At the reorganization of the Sunday school in the spring of 1890 the two laymen who had served as chairman and secretary of the 1889 resolutions committee were elected to direct the Sunday school for the coming summer: C. Z. Yoder, superintendent, and Benjamin Gerig, assistant. The congregation continued to prosper. In 1891, baptismal services, again at Oak Grove, added sixteen to the church on Saturday, May 16. Bishop J. P. Smucker, of Nappanee, Indiana, who had been born in Wayne county, was present to assist in the services. By this time the membership of the congregation was over four hundred. C. Z. Yoder, ordained deacon in 1890, continued his active direction of the Sunday school and young people's meeting, but gradually developed a group of younger lay leaders both men and women. The next year (1892) J. S. Hartzler, of Topeka, Indiana, conducted 48 evangelistic meetings in Logan, Champaign, Wayne, and Holmes counties, Ohio. Old and young manifested great interest. Of the results in Wayne county a correspondent writes: "At Smithville [that is, Oak Grove] twenty-four souls manifested a desire to become the Lord's chosen and turn their faces homeward." A later note states that "twenty-five souls are seeking," but on Sunday, April 17, only twenty-three were baptized. By then, however, a small additional number had made application for membership.

During the second quarter, 1892, the average Sunday-school attendance at Oak Grove was 200 and at Pleasant Hill, 100. When M. S. Steiner visited the Oak Grove Sunday school on June 5, 1892, and

Cherokee counties in Kansas. For several years he made regular evangelistic tours from Mifflin county in the East to various points westward. In 1893 he was the only Ohio minister present at the Indiana A.M. conference. In 1895 he moved from Smithville, Ohio, to Tremont, Illinois, and in 1902 he was the senior minister in the Moultrie county, Illinois, congregation. In 1903 he moved from Chesterville, Illinois, to the newly organized Amish Mennonite congregation at Fairview, Oscoda county, Michigan. He died there in 1904 survived by his widow, also two sons and seven daughters, the children of his first wife.

gave an interesting missionary address in the young people's meeting in the evening, they "took up a collection of eight dollars for the mission fund." The Sunday school closed for the winter on Sunday, October 2, 1892, but on account of the intense interest in the International Sunday School Lessons the school decided to spend more time on Sunday-school lessons in the young people's meeting. It is possible that the Sunday school did not close for the winter as planned. In 1926 C. Z. Yoder told the writer that after the general Sunday-school conference in Indiana (1892), where the idea of an "evergreen" Sunday school received strong emphasis, the Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill Sunday school continued during the winter, 1892-93. In the absence of proof to the contrary this may be accepted as the correct date of the beginning of the "evergreen" Sunday school in this congregation.[63]

In the early nineties annual revival meetings became a regular feature of the life of the congregation. The young people's meeting, an adjunct to the Sunday school, served also as a means of training young men and women to speak and write on Christian topics. The spring of 1893 again witnessed increased interest in religious life and work among the young people. In March of that year a correspondent reports that "thirty prodigals return" after a series of evangelistic meetings conducted at Oak Grove and Pleasant Hill by D. J. Johns and D. D. Miller, both of Indiana. M. S. Steiner who was present at a meeting at Oak Grove on Thursday evening, June 22, stated that thirty-five recently "promised allegiance to the Savior." In the early autumn of 1893 a correspondent wrote to the *Herald of Truth* that the Sunday school had "good prospects for continuing all winter" and that the young people's meeting was "very helpful in the preparation of the Sunday school lesson and the development of talent in our young Christians for Christian work." In 1894 the class of candidates for baptism was the smallest it had been for several years, only nine. The next year the revival meetings were conducted by D. D. Miller, who was accompanied by his wife. In addition to conducting ten services at Oak Grove and four at Pleasant Hill he preached two sermons at Crown Hill. Before the meetings closed sixteen young people had decided to lead a Christian life.

FORWARD UNDER THE NEW ORDER

Meanwhile John K. Yoder was finding it not too difficult to accommodate himself to the new order. Young people were being brought into the church, and although he had considered it neces-

63 The Sonnenberg Swiss Mennonite Sunday school in Wayne county, Ohio, became "evergreen" for the first time in the winter of 1893-94.

sary in 1890 to call in Sebastian Gerig and D. J. Johns to baptize the first class of button-wearing, hair-shingled young men, he found these new members an active group, loyal to the teachings of the church and interested in Christian work, piety, and service. It is true that some of his former fellow workers in the more conservative areas of the Amish Mennonite fellowship misinterpreted his broad-mindedness and declined to work with him for a time. This, his sensitive spirit felt keenly. While his congregation had observed the old order, he had often been called to help adjust difficulties within or between congregations. When he allowed the new order to be adopted in the Oak Grove-Pleasant Hill congregation, he found some of these opportunities for service and fellowship closed to him. This, no doubt, was one cause for the temporary decline of his health late in 1893, the year in which Oak Grove entertained the Ohio Amish Mennonite conference. In the fall of that year he invited D. J. Johns to conduct the fall communion service at Oak Grove and Pleasant Hill. He had, however, assisted in the baptismal services in Holmes county, Ohio, conducted in a stream near the Walnut Creek church during August.

That John K. Yoder was accepted by the more progressive of the Amish Mennonite conferences is evidenced by his being elected moderator of the Indiana Amish Mennonite conference in 1894. His conference address on that occasion shows that he was accepting the new order. After stating two reasons for holding conference: "to meet from different places to consult together over the important work in which we are engaged; and to see whether we are still willing to hold fast to the faith and practice as given us by Christ and His apostles and practiced by our fathers," he set forth the principles that should guide the conference deliberations:

> Our churches are scattered all the way from Pennsylvania to Oregon and cannot all be brought exactly under the same order. . . . We should not get "order of the Church" and "Faith" confused. . . . From time to time different work presents itself; therefore we find it necessary to meet to consult with one another.

In the fall of the same year (1894) he was called to the Beech church in Stark county, Ohio, to baptize eight young people and to conduct the communion service.

In his announcement of the 1895 Ohio A.M. Conference held at the Oak Grove church in Wayne county on June 6 and 7, printed in the *Herald of Truth,* John K. Yoder stated that the ministers would meet at the church on June 5 "to arrange the questions for conference." His announcement included the sentence: "Ministers, brethren and sisters of the Mennonite congregations are likewise wel-

come." The secretary's report of the aged bishop's words at the close of the conference indicates his lofty Christian spirit and probably quotes his exact phrases:

> Constrained out of love to God, the bishop with his congregation of this place then expressed their gratitude to the brethren and sisters who came here from other places, for the pleasant association, the opportunity of mingling our voices together in songs of praise and thanksgiving for the time of refreshing, realizing the power and goodness of God, as the real enjoyment we may have by being together in peace and harmony to the advancement of the cause of Christ.[64]

John K. Yoder's increasingly progressive spirit must not be construed as evidence that he was becoming "liberal."[65] In theology and in the fundamentals of congregational rule and practice he still held firmly to the Eighteen Articles of the Dordrecht Confession. When he baptized twenty-five applicants on Christmas Day, 1895, he read these articles and explained them in considerable detail.[66] This baptismal service on Christmas Day must have had special significance for the congregation because it seems to be the first instance of a service of baptism in the Oak Grove meetinghouse. This was a case of a return to the former Amish custom of indoor baptism instead of the fifty-year-old practice of baptizing in a stream. John K. Yoder had invited Bishop Jonas C. Yoder of Huntsville, Ohio, also known for his progressive spirit, to assist him in the service. In 1897 John K. Yoder, with Benjamin Gerig whom he had ordained as his successor to the office of bishop,[67] and the latter's son, Jacob S. Gerig, whom he

64 D. J. Johns, of Indiana, was moderator of this 1895 A.M. conference; John Peter-Schmitt, of Metamora, Illinois, assistant; D. D. Miller, of Middlebury, Indiana, and C. Z. Yoder, secretaries. Not only were a large number of Amish Mennonite ministers present at the conference, but all the Swiss Mennonite bishops and ministers of the county, as well as Preacher David Hostetler and Deacon Solomon K. Plank of the Salem Mennonite church.

65 John K. Yoder, born January 21, 1824, in Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, had only a common school education in both German and English, but was a diligent Bible student and a wide reader; hence, for that period, a well-educated Amishman. He married Lydia Zook. As mentioned earlier, two sons, David Z. Yoder and C. Z. Yoder, were ordained to the ministry; also a younger brother, Christian K. Yoder, who later moved to West Liberty, Ohio. For a brief biography of John K. Yoder, written by his nephew, Bishop A. I. Yoder, of West Liberty, Ohio, see the *Gospel Herald* (Sept. 5, 1929) 22:475-76.

66 See *Herald of Truth* (Jan. 1, 1896) 9.

67 Benjamin Gerig, born in Pfastatt, France (Alsace), November 11, 1842, died near Smithville, Ohio, August 4, 1913. He emigrated to America in 1860 at the age of seventeen to avoid conscription into the French army. An older brother, Sebastian Gerig, who later became bishop of the congregation in Henry county, Iowa, had migrated even earlier for the same reason. It was the experience of seeing men drafted for the Crimean war which had driven him to this decision. Benjamin's sisters furnished the money from their own earnings for his passage and later followed him to America. One of the sisters was J. C. Meyer's grandmother who arrived in 1872. A third brother, Christian Gerig, came after 1872 and his son, Christian R. Gerig, became bishop in the Fairview congregation, Albany, Oregon, where his son Henry, is now minister. On June 12, 1862, Benjamin Gerig was married to Lydia Schrock who was born and reared on the farm southeast of Smithville where they spent nearly fifty years of married life together. On May 6, 1895, he was chosen by lot and ordained to the ministry at Oak Grove; and the next year, May 3, 1896, he was elected to the office of bishop (without passing through the lot) and ordained. Two of his sons have rendered outstanding service in the areas of Mennonite education and church administration. Jacob S. Gerig (1866-) was ordained to the ministry (chosen by lot) in the Oak Grove church on December 13, 1896, and bishop (again chosen by lot) on October 27, 1912. For more than forty years he directed his congregation in line with its historic Amish Mennonite heritage. A younger son

had ordained minister, paid a friendly visit to the Sonnenberg Swiss Mennonite congregation. The cordiality of their Oak Grove brethren undoubtedly stimulated and encouraged the Sonnenberg ministers in maintaining the original Swiss simplicity and theology. Several decades earlier Sonnenberg had broken fellowship with their Swiss Mennonite brethren in Putnam and Allen counties, Ohio, and in Adams county, Indiana, chiefly on certain cultural differences and on the practice of nonresistance.[68]

John K. Yoder also visited his former friends in the rather conservative Fulton county, Ohio, Amish Mennonite congregation on May 4, 1897, remaining there for a week, preaching several sermons and assisting in the spring communion service. A correspondent mentions the blessings "received from his kind visit." For a number of years he continued to attend the annual sessions of the Ohio-Pennsylvania Amish conference, occasionally serving as organizing chairman. He also assisted in baptismal services at various places. What must have been a pleasant experience for him was a call to Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, in 1898.[69] Here the healing lapse of time, bringing a changing culture and a relaxed church discipline, made him welcome once more among the friends of his boyhood, his former associates in the work of the earlier Amish General Conference. Twenty-two young people were received into church fellowship by baptism on Sunday, August 21, 1898. The venerable bishop spent several weeks in the "Valley," assisting in the baptismal and communion services and preaching a number of times to appreciative audiences. He also met and fellowshiped with the eighty-one-year-old Elias Riehl, a former associate and fellow worker in the Amish Conference (1862-78), who had been removed from the bishop's

of Benjamin Gerig, Daniel S. Gerig (1875-1955), who held a master's degree from the University of Chicago, was instructor in foreign languages at the Elkhart Institute (1900-3), and professor of German at Goshen College (1903-24). For the next thirty years he served the city of Goshen as high-school instructor in economics. He also served one term as city councilman, and during these years contributed generously of his time and energy to the Eighth Street Mennonite church as Sunday-school teacher, church official, and committeeman. When J. S. Gerig began to feel the pressure of the years, he asked his congregation to choose a successor. They selected Virgil Gerig, grandson of Bishop Gerig, hence also the great-grandson of Bishop Benjamin Gerig, as their pastor. In 1955 the Oak Grove congregation voted to grant their pastor the right to perform all the rites of the church. Accordingly Bishop J. S. Gerig invited Sanford C. Yoder of Goshen, Indiana, to install him. Bishop Yoder, who had been Virgil Gerig's instructor when he was a student at Goshen College (1936-38), had charge of the special installation.

68 See "David A. Schneck's Notes . . . on the Sonnenberg Swiss Mennonite Congregation," in *MQR* (October 1955) 29:287-91. See also Delbert Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists*, 183.

69 The Ohio Amish Mennonite Conference was organized in 1893. In 1897 this conference, held at the Oak Grove meetinghouse in Wayne county, Ohio, adopted the following resolution: "Resolved that this conference hereafter be known as the Amish Mennonite Annual Conference of Ohio and Pennsylvania." The conference appointed a committee to arrange for the next meeting: John R. Zook of Lawrence county, Pennsylvania; Christian K. Yoder, West Liberty, Ohio; and C. Z. Yoder of Wayne county, Ohio, corresponding secretary. This conference action may be accepted as indicative that prejudices and misunderstandings of earlier decades were giving way to a renewal of fellowship between East and West. In 1904, since congregations beyond Ohio and Pennsylvania were being included in the conference, its name was changed again, to Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference.

office during the dispersal of the Union county, Pennsylvania, Amish congregation and had united with the Mennonite congregation in Juniata county, Pennsylvania, but was now once more accepted as a brother by his Amish Mennonite brethren.[70]

SUMMARY

John K. Yoder's strength gradually declined and he died in 1906. He had seen the Amish Mennonite congregations leave their German cultural pattern to cross the threshold into a new era. Because the years of his greatest activity lie in a period foreign to present-day church life, his outstanding contribution is easily overlooked. Amid the changing pattern of church activity and organization two principles determined his policies: the maintenance of the fundamentals of the Dordrecht Confession as laid down in the Eighteen Articles; and the unity and peace of the brotherhood.[71] To these he yielded his allegiance rather than to tradition, no matter how strongly intrenched or how stoutly defended. Apparently he had offended some of his eastern contemporaries by refusing to require rebaptism of a Mennonite who wished to cross denominational lines to unite with an Amish congregation. Although he seems to have attached little importance to the new method of baptizing in a stream, he made use of this method because members of his congregation preferred it. Even at the risk of splitting his congregation he sided with the majority who wished to build a meetinghouse in 1862. And although he showed his impartiality by making no freewill offering to the building fund, he later paid an assessment to help defray the unpaid debt on the building. He took a leading part in removing the liquor industry from his congregation in 1869, even though it meant direct conflict with tradition and the loss of several members. In 1871 he condoned the organization of that controversial institution, the Sunday school. His boldest stroke came in 1889 when he agreed to the appointment of a laymen's committee chosen by the congregation, which recommended and secured the adoption of a new order to replace the Amish old order that had prescribed hooks and eyes instead of buttons and long hair for men instead of a barber haircut. This

70 Bishop Elias Riehl was still residing in Union county, Pennsylvania. His wife, the former Veronica Lantz, had died there the year before (May 29, 1897). Born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, on August 5, 1816, she had moved to Union county in 1837 with her parents. On December 8, 1840, she was married to Elias Riehl. Her funeral services were in charge of two Mennonite ministers, Thomas and Samuel Graybill, of the Juniata Mennonite congregation with which Bishop Riehl and his wife united after he was rejected by the Union county Amish congregation.

71 John K. Yoder reversed his position on one phase of the practice of shunning an expelled member. The 1897 Ohio Amish conference considered the question: "Do we advise our members to avoid persons who have been expelled and been received into another denomination?" This question which had received a unanimous affirmative reply a generation earlier now was answered by a single, unprotested, and unqualified "No."

committee also recommended the holding of revival meetings and evening meetings as a method of inviting young people to unite with the church. Although John K. Yoder never attempted to use any language but German in his official work in the church, he sensed that the old language was passing and must give place to the new.[72] He deserves to stand in the top rank of the older Amish Mennonite church leaders of the last half of the nineteenth century.[73]

APPENDIX A

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS TO BUILDING FUND FOR THE CENTER OF GREEN AMISH MENNONITE CHURCH IN THE SPRING OF 1862

David Smoker	$25.00	Jonathan Yoder	20.00
Moses Yoder	20.00	Michael Fink	5.00
Jonathan W. Zook	25.00	Anna Plank	5.00
Samuel Schrock	20.00	John Greaser	5.00
Joseph Hartzler	20.00	Christian Plank	5.00
Christian Yoder	5.00	Polly Biler	5.50
Christian Berky	10.00	Jacob Setzler	3.00
John Schrock	10.00	John Zook	5.00
Moses Schrock	10.00	L. B. Troyer	10.00
A. K. Plank	20.00	S. S. Yoder	5.00
Jacob King	25.00	David Stutzman	10.00
Stephen Schrock	30.00	Martin Conrad	21.00
David J. Smoker	10.00	Christian Conrad	3.00
Joel Zook	10.00	Christian K. Yoder	10.00
Peter Liechty	12.00	Jonathan Smoker	5.00
Elias Hartzler	10.00	Peter Hilty	5.00
J. P. Stoll [Stahl]	8.00	Joseph P. Plough [Blough]	3.00
Christian Musser	10.00	Martha Kurtz	3.00
John Schott [Schad]	5.00	Jonathan Hostetler	5.00
Gideon Smoker	10.00	D. B. Stutzman	6.00
David K. Hooley	10.00	Jacob Troyer	7.40
Jacob G. Kurtz	5.00	Michael Troyer	6.00
Solomon Hartzler	10.00	Christian Brenneman	15.00
Enos Hartzler	10.00	Sarah Hartzler	10.00
Andrew Berky	$10.00	Jacob Conrad	15.00
Joseph Plank	5.00	Eli Yoder	10.00
Benjamin Hartzler	5.00	Michael Schrock	15.00
Jonas Yoder	18.75	Joel Hartzler	10.00
Christian J. Yoder	25.00	Jacob Baughman	5.00

72 On this matter of the introduction of English into the services of the church the aged bishop yielded regretfully, if at all. The question was considered by the 1897 Ohio Amish Mennonite conference: "Would the church and the rising generation be benefited by keeping up the German language in Sunday school and other meetings?" This question, evidently "loaded" by its reference to Sunday school and to the rising generation, seems to invite a negative reply, but it drew only an endorsement of the German language: "Wherever practicable we advise that the German language be kept up in the Sunday school and other meetings." To be sure, the young people's meeting at Oak Grove and Pleasant Hill had been conducted in English from the beginning. In this meeting the use of German was not "practicable." Apparently, however, since some of the older people understood the German language better than they did the English, the attitude seems to have been that they should have some consideration.

73 For additional information on the church-wide influence and activities of John K. Yoder see Appendix D, "Wayne County Ministers in the Amish General Conference (1862-78)," p. 209, and Appendix E, "Officers of the Amish General Conference (1862-78)," p. 219.

Peter Biler	5.00	Fanny Smoker	3.00
Christian Brand	25.00	Jacob Zook	5.00
Jonathan Burkholder	20.00	David Smoker	8.00
Peter Schrock	10.00	Joseph Hartzler	8.00
Christian Stuckey	10.00	Andrew Bergy	5.00
Peter Lederman	5.00	Joseph Plank	5.00
Gideon G. Smoker	5.00	D. K. Hooley	5.00
Christian G. Smoker	5.00	S. R. Plank	5.00
Levi Hartzler	5.00	Moses Schrock	10.00
C. Brenneman	5.00	Levi Hartzler	2.00
V. Berky	5.00	Stephen Schrock	5.00
Jacob Troyer	15.00	C. Schrock	5.00
Fanny Plank	5.00	Gideon Smoker	5.00
Christian Hostetler	5.00	Jacob Hooley	5.00
Mary Zook	10.00	Joel Hartzler	5.00
Magdalena Yoder	20.00	Christian Conrad	2.00
David P. Yoder	5.80	J. P. Plough	10.00
Charles Miller	2.00	Elizabeth Yoder	10.00
John P. Kaempf	2.00	John Musser	25.00
Samuel Yoder	10.00	Christian Eigher [Eicher]	3.00
Joseph Troyer	5.00	Elizabeth Formwalt	4.00
Lydia Kurtz	5.00	Mary Yoder	5.00
Henry B. Hoover	5.00	Ezra Yoder	5.00
Daniel Holser	10.00	John Schaut	5.00
Michael Kurtz	5.00	Jacob Shonts [Schantz]	10.00

APPENDIX B

ASSESSMENTS AND VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTORS IN FALL OF 1862

*Jacob Setzler	$1.00	Benjamin Garich	4.16
*Christian Stucky	5.00	Solomon Zook	4.42
*Joseph Yoder	5.00	*Joash Yoder	5.00
*David Stutzman	5.00	David J. Smoker	1.82
Christian Brand	6.25	Gideon Smoker	1.82
Levi Hartzler	2.23	Christian J. Yoder	10.48
C. K. Yoder	10.48	*David Mast	10.00
Stephen Schrock	18.52	*Nancy Plank	4.00
David Plough	6.49	*Mary Yoder	5.00
John Musser	17.90	Michael Schrock	6.08
Samuel Yoder	9.10	Levi Troyer	3.25
*David P. Yoder	3.20		
Moses Plough	3.00	John Twonnvalt [Farmwalt]	5.20
Jacob King	10.34	Joseph Hartzler	7.87
Jonathan Smoker	6.10	Solomon Hartzler	1.48
John K. Yoder	15.00	*Christian H. Yoder	5.00
John Schrock	4.71	*John Kurtz	3.00
Jonas Burgholder	4.85	*Elias Kaufman	5.00
Christian Conrad	7.41	*David Kurtz	3.00
Joseph Plank	.50	*Charles Miller	2.00
Christian Yoder	3.20	*Elizabeth Yoder	2.00
Peter Zigler	.40	Israel Yoder	2.00
David Smoker	15.80	Enos Hartzler	2.00
Andrew Berky	2.92	Benjamin Hartzler	2.00
Yost Yoder	2.51	Moses Yoder	5.00

Peter Lighty [Liechty]	2.00	Carpenter Abe. Plank	5.00
Christian Musser	3.00	Weadow (Widow?) Eigher	10.00
Ezra Zook	1.44	Christian Brenneman	6.84
	2.00	Moses Schrock	5.64
F. Wenger	30.00	Jacob Troyer	10.04

APPENDIX C

A DOCUMENT RELATING TO THE NAMING AND ORGANIZATION OF THE AMISH MEETINGHOUSE IN GREEN TOWNSHIP, WAYNE COUNTY, OHIO

In the early days of the Ohio frontier, religious organizations had no established method of erecting their houses of worship. It was a common occurrence for a well-to-do member with the help of others in the congregation to build a meetinghouse on the corner of his farm without any concern to draw up a contract or deed of sale. Too frequently the resulting misunderstandings led to litigation regarding the congregation's right to conduct services or to use the building for other purposes. Finally the state legislature passed a law requiring the registration of all houses of worship. Congregations were required to vest the title to the grounds in a board of trustees and to specify the intended use of the property. The letter printed here was written by one of C. Z. Yoder's young friends who came from a Mennonite family and who had been appointed deputy recorder for Wayne county. The copies of the letter and document printed below are self-explanatory.

Copy of Letter from Deputy Recorder of Wayne County

Wooster, Ohio
(No date)

Dear Friend,

Believing that you would be interested in anything pertaining to the past history of the Mennonite Church in Wayne County and principally Green Township, I am sending you a copy of the Record which we have in our office of the proceedings in a meeting that was held for the purpose as set out in the inclosed copy. I found the Volume under a pile of old books and papers when in search of other material, incidently noting that it contained similar records of the other churches in the county that are as old or older.

I am not certain that what is now known as The Oak Grove Church is one and the same as that described in the copy as my memory does not take me back that far. However, you will know perhaps by the names that are mentioned in the article. I would like to know if it is.

Wishing you the best of health and happiness, I am

Sincerely yours,
Harold Kropf

Amish Mennonite
Center of Green Church

CHURCH OF THE AMISH MENNONITES

Pursuant to previous notice publicly given the members of the Church of Amish Mennonites—met at the Amish Mennonite Center of Green Church in Wayne County, Ohio, on Monday, the 13th day of Oct. A.D. 1862, for the purposes of electing Trustees of

said Church and so organizing said Society as is required by Statute of the State of Ohio. So as to enable such Religious Society to secure a deed of conveyance of Real Estate as a body Corporate Whereon to build a Church-House and have a Church-Yard.

The meeting was called to order and it being ascertained that over one hundred members of said Society were present, John K. Yoder was elected Chairman and David Smooker, Clerk of the business for which the meeting had assembled.

It was thereupon voted first that the Corporate name of such Society be The Amish Mennonite Center of Green Church; secondly that the Society proceed to the election of three Trustees and a Clerk for such Society. Therefor Gideon Smooker was elected Trustee one year, Stephen Schrock was elected Trustee two years, Solomon Hartzler was elected Trustee three years, Christian Schrock was elected Clerk three years.

Thirdly that such Trustees be empowered to receive on behalf of the Society a Deed of Conveyance as may be necessary whereupon to erect a Church House and have a suitable Church Yard and that they purchase the same or receive the same by gift or donation as best they can.

It was further voted that the proceeding be signed by the Chairman and certified by the Clerk and Recorded in the Office of the Recorder of Wayne County so as to perfect the corporation of the Society.

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

D. J. Smooker John K. Yoder—Chairman

I do hereby certify that the foregoing is a full and complete record of the proceeding of said meeting.

D. J. Smooker—Clerk

Received Oct. 15, 1862, and recorded same day.

Emanuel Schuckers . . . Recorder

APPENDIX D

WAYNE COUNTY MINISTERS IN THE AMISH GENERAL CONFERENCE (1862-1878)

John K. Yoder was one of the most powerful, influential, and widely known bishops in the Amish Mennonite church during the last four decades of the nineteenth century. He seems to have been one of the foremost promoters of the Amish *Diener Versammlung* organized in 1862. The first meeting was held in Wayne county. In the beginning some of the older men seemed to be taking the lead, but even from the first John K. Yoder took prominent part in the conference. At this first conference he read a letter from the Lower Pequea congregation (Lancaster county, Pennsylvania) expressing a desire to be informed in writing of the proceedings of the conference.

One of the reasons for the conference seems to have been a growing coldness between the more conservative and more progressive churches. When these matters were discussed at the first conference John K. Yoder earnestly asked those who had views different from his to bear with him as he was ever willing to bear with others and to receive them with open arms. His question not being answered he brought it up again the next day, asking whether it would not be fitting that those present should reply to his offer of the day before. The reply, or what purported to be a reply to his offer, throws considerable light on the cause of dissatisfaction among Amish leaders. Moses Kauffman of Middlebury, Indiana, read a letter from Jacob Swartzendruber of Iowa. In this letter Swartzendruber states his intention to stand by the Articles of Faith as found in the

Prayer Book. He is opposed to all innovations. He is opposed to committing the complete ministry (of the bishop's office) to a deacon (*Almosenpfleger*) as soon as he is ordained bishop. He vigorously denounced allowing outsiders to sit in the council and opposed the marriage of nearer relatives than second cousins. He was willing, he wrote, to exercise patience (*in Geduld stehen*) if the ministers' meeting decided to allow baptism in a stream.

John K. Yoder promptly stated that the letter was no answer to his question of the day before. As the discussion progressed several ministers stated that they wished to see fruits, to see that the regulations were observed by the other ministers and their congregations. John K. Yoder stated that the Holmes Countians earlier had borne with the Wayne Countians when their regulations and discipline (*Betragen*) were as at present. Why could not Holmes Countians now bear with the Wayne Countians as well as they did with other churches which are as different from them or even more so than the Wayne Countians? Later when the matter of baptism was discussed John K. Yoder agreed with Bishop Jacob Kanagy of Logan county and Bishop Solomon K. Beiler in defending baptism in the water because "we have the type and example of Jesus Christ for that mode."

On the third day of the conference John K. Yoder asked to have a committee appointed to consider the case of a man who long ago had been placed under the ban in his congregation and whom the Canton congregation had received as a brother after his merely confessing a fault. Later in the same day Yoder answered Joseph Goldsmith's question regarding a proposed ordination of a bishop in Joseph Augsburger's congregation in Butler county. He said, in the first place, he was concerned that participation on his part might cause a disturbance in his own congregation and, in the second place, the Butler county congregation allowed certain practices which he could not condone. However, if some other ministers wished to undertake the ordination he would not oppose it.

Fortunately the conference report gives the names of all the bishops, ministers, and deacons from Wayne county in attendance: John K. Yoder, Jacob King, Jacob Troyer of Orrville; Christian K. Yoder of Madisonburg; and Christian Nofziger, Peter Blough, Jonathan Smoker, Christian Brandt, Christian Schantz, and Solomon Zook, all of Smithville. Seventy-two ministers from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana attended this conference.

John K. Yoder took an increasingly important part in each succeeding annual meeting of the conference. In the second conference held at Belleville, Pennsylvania, in May, 1863, he was appointed a member of a committee (*Rath*) to decide the question: If a member is placed under the ban in regular order and unites with another religious organization, can we find some means to discontinue (*aufszuheben*) avoidance in such cases? The next morning this committee reported that they still had not reached a decision. They regarded the question a very important one and wished more time to consider it. The decision finally brought to the conference was: We consider avoidance an evangelical and apostolic regulation and that those who have been placed in the ban are to be avoided even though they have united with another nonresistant brotherhood except in cases where they show true repentance, regret and sorrow with humble hearts and an upright conversation, and reconcile themselves with the congregation which they have left.

At this conference someone raised the question whether meetinghouses might be permitted according to the Gospel. Several ministers said

that in their home communities a meetinghouse was necessary because their dwellings were too small. John K. Yoder said that in the Wayne county congregation the dwelling houses were too small and that there had been considerable complaint on this score. On most questions that came before the conference John K. Yoder agreed with such men as Bishop Abner Yoder of Somerset county, Pennsylvania (later of Iowa), and with Bishop Solomon K. Beiler of Belleville. On the question of holding township and county offices John K. Yoder seems to have had nothing to say. On the third day of the conference when the question of taking photographs was discussed John K. Yoder was one of the first to speak against it. Here again he agreed with Solomon Beiler, Abner Yoder, and others. Wayne county ministers present at the second conference, in addition to John K. Yoder, were Solomon Zook and Jacob King.

The growing importance of Yoder's contribution to the deliberations of the Amish conference was attested by his election as moderator of the third conference held near Goshen, Indiana, in 1864. When he was nominated he excused himself and expressed a wish to see someone else take the position. When the members of conference insisted upon it, however, he consented to serve and was unanimously elected. The fact that this conference proceeded in a more orderly way, in a more businesslike fashion, is no doubt due to John K. Yoder's direction. Each morning the minutes of the previous day were read. This is the first conference at which this procedure was followed. He also introduced a new method of taking the vote. During the first two conferences the moderator always asked for the affirmative vote only; but on the afternoon of the second day of this (1864) conference, Yoder announced that hereafter he would take a rising vote both affirmative and negative on each question so that both those that wished to vote against a question and those who wished to vote in favor of it could register their opinion.

As soon as he was elected moderator, he made a short address in which he gave the purpose of the meeting and stated that he did not intend to introduce any innovations or to make any laws, but to deal with matters according to the Word of God and to try to bring about peace. He asked the conference whether ministers (*Diener des Worts*) and deacons (*Almosenpfleger*) should serve on committees. The conference decided that this should be permitted but with the provision that the majority of every committee (*Rath*) should consist of bishops. Several times in the course of the discussion he called attention to the decisions of earlier conferences which, he insisted, might have been expressed more clearly.

On numerous occasions he showed his broad-mindedness by taking a common-sense attitude on difficult questions. When the question arose of a woman's avoidance of her husband who had been placed under the ban, he insisted that the conference must take a common-sense position where it would be impossible for the wife to practice avoidance faithfully without separating from her husband. He felt that avoidance should not be carried too far because in case of separation the law would give the children to the man. He felt that this would be unfortunate and he urged a Christian forbearance in such cases. Several times when the conference was in radical disagreement over certain matters he urged that, although there were differing views, members of conference should exercise patience in Christian love and forbearance. On another occasion he urged caution, saying that a decision or a regulation on the matter under discussion would create much disturbance and perhaps even a division. In regard to such matters the churches should be earnestly admonished to consider the danger of these things. This was in regard to the question wheth-

er the Amish church should discipline one of its members who had married a member of another nonresistant denomination. In the course of this conference Yoder preached a rather remarkable sermon on Christian marriage.

When the matter of choosing a place for holding the next conference came before the meeting, Wayne county received thirty votes; McLean county, Illinois, twenty-five; and Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, eight. Wayne county ministers present at the Goshen Conference in 1864 were Peter Blough, Smithville; Jonathan Smoker, Solomon Zook, and John K. Yoder of Orrville.

Unfortunately the printed report of the 1865 Amish conference omits many interesting details such as are included in the earlier reports. It states merely the questions discussed and the resolutions adopted. The conference received numerous letters requesting statements or resolutions on matters of nonconformity to the world. These the ministers attempted to satisfy by adopting a long statement covering a large variety of complaints. The statement quotes from I Peter 3, "Whose adorning let it not be that outward adorning . . . of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel"; and from Romans 12, "Be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God." The statement then continues (translated from the German): "Now if we are able to attain so much through nonconformity to the world that we can prove what the will of God is, then it follows incontrovertibly that so long as we continue to conform to the world in the above named respects, we cannot come into that state to prove and to decide justly and fittingly what the true will of God is." The conference then forbade worldliness in wearing showy clothing and in imitating vain and unnecessary worldly fashions in the cut of the hair and similar matters. The conference decided that all those who refuse to discontinue such unscriptural conduct should be advised in Christian love to repent in order that they might inherit the crown of life. It also decided that members who refused to change their attitude in regard to these things and to continue in disobedience should be cut off as unfruitful branches of the vine; that is, they should be excommunicated.

The conference also considered a letter from "an old, experienced minister in Iowa," and passed the following resolution regarding a part of his letter: "We are in complete agreement with the views of Brother [Jacob] Swartzendruber in regard to the conduct of single persons of both sexes and herewith admonish all Christian parents to prevent the misconduct of youth in their homes." A translation of the entire letter, dealing with such questions as nonresistance, conscription, the hiring of substitutes for military service, receiving of Mennonites into the Amish church without rebaptism, shunning, and marriage and courtship practices in the Amish communities is printed in the *MQR* (July 1946) 20:223-29. The resolution passed by the conference referred to that part of Jacob Swartzendruber's letter dealing with the courtship practices of the Amish young people which in many instances were not very commendable.

The conference discussed a lengthy communication from Jacob Rupp of Fulton county, Ohio, and appointed a committee to investigate his complaint: Abner Yoder of Somerset county, Pennsylvania; Samuel Yoder of Mifflin county, Pennsylvania; and Jacob Kanagy of Logan county, Ohio. Eighty-nine bishops, ministers, and deacons were present at this, the largest Amish general conference ever held. Wayne county ministers present were John K. Yoder, Solomon Zook, Jacob Troyer, and Jacob

King of Orrville; Christian Brandt, Christian Schantz, Christian K. Yoder, and Peter Blough of Smithville.

At the 1866 conference, held in McLean county, Illinois, John K. Yoder on May 21 preached what would now be designated the conference sermon. On motion made by Joseph Stuckey of the local area, Samuel Yoder of Mifflin county, Pennsylvania, was elected moderator, and John K. Yoder, assistant. At this conference the congregations in Elkhart, Lagrange, and Noble counties (Indiana) asked for a committee to investigate certain difficulties. John K. Yoder headed the list of committeemen appointed by conference to conduct the investigation. He also was a member of the committee which had visited Fulton county, Ohio, after the regular committee had made its report on the matter presented by Jacob Rupp in 1865. As was customary at the end of each annual conference, several ministers, among them John K. Yoder, gave short sermonettes or addresses. In his diary, Christian Erisman, an Illinois layman who was present at the 1866 conference, writes appreciatively of the "very beautiful, very touching (*rührend*)" address delivered by John K. Yoder. The only Wayne county ministers present at this conference were John K. Yoder, Jacob King, and Christian K. Yoder.

At the next conference held at West Liberty, Ohio, in 1867, John K. Yoder was named chairman of the first committee appointed. He also was one of the speakers at the first day's session. On the second day of conference, the question arose concerning the propriety of giving a brother the Holy Kiss when there is no unity in spirit. Some insisted that, even under those circumstances, they could not refuse a brother who offered a kiss. John K. Yoder, however, with his usual independence of spirit and careful analysis of a subject, asserted that it would be necessary to consider whether it would cause dissatisfaction. He quoted the Scripture: "All things are possible but not all things are expedient." Wayne county ministers present at this conference were John K. Yoder, Solomon Zook, Jacob King, and Jonathan Smucker of Orrville; and Christian K. Yoder of Smithville.

At the 1868 conference held at Belleville, Pennsylvania, John K. Yoder was moderator and Shem King, assistant. Four Wayne county ministers were present: Jonathan Smucker, John K. Yoder, and Solomon Zook of Orrville; and John Smiley of Summit (now Weilersville). When the conference considered the practice of inquiring from soothsayers and fortunetellers, John K. Yoder said that many young people visited them without thinking, but others did so against their better knowledge; therefore disciplinary action must be suited to the circumstances and the motives. The conference decided that no member could be permitted to visit fortunetellers and soothsayers. This conference, like that of 1865, again referred to the question of adornment in the matter of dress and the style of the haircut, as well as ruffles on the children's clothing. Mose Miller, Shem King, and John K. Yoder, as well as several others, spoke earnestly against such things, and the conference decided unanimously that they were contrary to the Scriptures.

On the question whether it would be permitted according to the Gospel, to conduct a business or keep store, post office, express offices, and such like worldly offices, the conference voted that it would be unfitting and that wherever brethren served in such positions the ministers were to set them back (that is, deny them the communion, the kiss of peace, and other marks of full fellowship), especially where it caused dissatisfaction; because the church could not permit, neither did the Gospel, that service to God should be neglected on account of such businesses or offices. On

this point the ministers did not reach full agreement, but Jonathan Zook pointed out that such vocations were not good for the brotherhood. John P. King, Daniel Nafziger, and John K. Yoder asserted that such offices and business were not fitting for the brotherhood. Where they lead to laxity the ministers should speak to the offending person, and wherever there are positive cases of the cooling off of the Christian life and of neglect of attendance at church services, such businesses should be forbidden to those who are going astray.

In response to a question by Joseph Yoder of Noble county, Indiana, whether a church member who does not shun an excommunicated member can maintain his membership, John K. Yoder replied that such a person must be considered a disobedient member and excommunicated. He went on to say that it was the duty of ministers to warn the congregation whenever a member is excommunicated; then if any members are disobedient and refuse to shun the excommunicated member, there must be a reconciliation with the church before the disobedience can be overlooked. (This would be the equivalent of excommunication, for a disobedient member would be required to confess a fault on his knees before the congregation before he could be reconciled with the church.) Another question considered by the 1868 conference was: Can it be permitted, according to the Gospel, to attend circuses, shows, political gatherings, and public occasions for setting up flagpoles? John K. Yoder stated that it did not show a good light to the world to take part in such assemblies and the conference voted unanimously that it was improper for a disciple of Christ to attend such meetings.

At the 1869 conference held at Walnut Creek, Holmes county, Ohio, John K. Yoder asked for help to investigate a division in the Wayne county, Ohio, congregation. The division of which he spoke was probably the one caused by his excommunication of Peter Rich for refusing to give up the manufacture and sale of beer. The committee appointed was Peter Naffziger of Fulton county, Ohio; John Yoder, Daniel Naffziger, and Samuel Yoder, all of Mifflin county, Pennsylvania; and Christian Miller of Elkhart county, Indiana. They failed to settle the difficulty. The division resulted, as already mentioned, in the founding of a small congregation which met for a time in a nondenominational meetinghouse south of Sterling across the road from the present cemetery, still in use. According to J. C. Meyer of Sterling, Ohio, "The ground for the nondenominational building seems to have been donated by the owner of the land with the usual stipulation that when the building was no longer used for the purpose the land would revert to the farm." Meyer was in the building many times and recalls when the land reverted to the John Graber farm. The Grabers, he states, were (old) Mennonites.

Only twenty-seven ministers were present at the 1869 conference. Present from Wayne county were John K. Yoder, Solomon Zook, Jonathan Smucker, and Jacob King of Orrville; John Smiley of Weilersville; Peter Blough and Christian K. Yoder of Smithville.

At the 1870 conference held near Archbold, Ohio, John K. Yoder was one of the first speakers on the first day. He opened the meeting on the second day with Scripture reading and prayer. Afterward, on motion made by Peter Naffziger of Archbold, John P. King of West Liberty, Ohio, was unanimously elected moderator and John K. Yoder, assistant. On the third day of conference when someone proposed the question, "Has a person who has renounced the world, the right according to the Holy Scriptures to attend shows or fairs?" John K. Yoder delivered an earnest and powerful address in which he uncompromisingly condemned such attend-

ance. Yoder also brought up the age-long dissatisfaction among Amish Mennonites in America with regard to dress. He seems to have felt that it was no longer possible to establish and maintain a complete uniformity of practice in this respect and counseled toleration and mutual sympathy in the different sections of the brotherhood. The Wayne county ministers present at this conference were John K. Yoder and Jacob King of Orrville; Peter Blough of Smithville; and John Smiley of Weilersville. (An Emanuel Hochstettler, of Goshen, Indiana, was present, but this seems not to have been the Preacher Emanuel Hochstettler, formerly (or still?) living in Wayne county, Ohio. The latter is said to have been buried in the cemetery at Pleasant Hill.)

John K. Yoder was not present at the next (1871) annual conference held in Livingston county, Illinois. The only Ohio ministers in attendance were Moses Stutzman of Kennard, Champaign county; Nicholas King of Pettisville, Fulton county; and Jacob Nafziger of Archbold, Fulton county.

Yoder attended the 1872 conference held in Lagrange county, Indiana, at the home of Samuel D. Miller. On this occasion he preached what would now be called the conference sermon. On motion by Emanuel Hochstettler of Lagrange county, John P. King of Logan county, Ohio, was unanimously elected moderator and David Zook of Pennsylvania, assistant. John K. Yoder was appointed chairman of a committee to investigate an alleged trend toward universalism in McLean county, Illinois. A certain Joseph Yoder had written a poem entitled *Frohe Botschaft* (Glad Tidings) in which he set forth that all men would be saved and that there was no eternal punishment in hell. John K. Yoder's committee brought in a resolution condemning the sentiments expressed in the poem and denying the right of fellowship to the writer. The conference resolved that anyone advocating such a doctrine must be excommunicated. (During the next few years this question kept coming up. It finally resulted in a conference decision to disfellowship Bishop Joseph Stuckey for his refusal to excommunicate the writer of *Frohe Botschaft*. The ultimate result was the founding of a separate Mennonite conference by Stuckey and his friends.)

In 1872 the ministers again passed the same legislation on clothing and style of dressing the hair as they had at previous conferences. Evidently some church members had been refusing to attend the communion service in protest against the rigorous enforcement of these regulations. The conference attempted to strengthen its position on the matter of enforcement by dealing with those who refused to participate in the communion service or who were not obedient to these regulations. John K. Yoder, near the close of conference, preached a powerful sermon on the duties of ministers and church members in obeying the Word and in remaining true to their Lord and Master. Wayne county ministers present at this 1872 conference were Jonathan Smucker and John K. Yoder of Orrville. A large number of Indiana ministers were present, including Jonas C. Yoder and Christian Werey of Lima, Lagrange county, near Howe, the location of a now extinct nineteenth-century Amish congregation.

The 1873 conference was the third held in Wayne county, when the conference met at the home of Christian Yoder, two and one-half miles from Orrville. John K. Yoder made a motion to elect Samuel Yoder of Pennsylvania as moderator, and Christian Werey of Pretty Prairie, Lagrange county, Indiana, assistant. Benjamin Gerig of Wayne county, Ohio, a layman, was elected one of the secretaries. This conference again

brought up the question as to what should be done with members who do not observe the regulations except for a short time before counsel meeting and communion and for a little while after and then lapse into their former disobedience. John K. Yoder took a firm stand on this question, but his remarks were not so uncompromising or so extreme as those of some others. He said simply that each one should examine himself so that he would not partake of the communion unworthily. It was this conference which discussed and condemned the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor. John K. Yoder took a leading role in the discussion and was outspoken in his condemnation of the traffic, insisting that it was indeed a sorry case that one should pay more regard to the temporal than to the eternal, and pointed out the evil results that arise from liquor whereby often entire families have gone to ruin and what is still more regrettable that other religious organizations complain that where such intoxicating drinks are manufactured it is damaging to the entire neighborhood.

He further remarked that "we should be a light to the world as our dear Saviour often said. But dear brethren and fellow workers in the vineyard of the Lord, such practices as are mentioned above, give a very dark light (*ein sehr dunkeles Licht*) in the church. Experience teaches us over and over that the happiness and well-being of the drinker's family are destroyed. That his wife and his children or his parents and his relatives must grieve over him and must possibly be ashamed of him. All this is very sad and a great sorrow for such unfortunate families, and what is the saddest of all is that the drinker finally loses his soul through the intemperate use of intoxicating drinks."

During the course of the conference while no important business was under consideration, John K. Yoder delivered a long address in which he spoke particularly to the young people. The poem, *Frohe Botschaft,* again came up for discussion and John K. Yoder reported that their committee had visited Joseph Stuckey and had inquired whether he considered the writer of *Frohe Botschaft* a brother. Stuckey had declared that he considered him a brother and had gone to communion with him. Thereupon the three ministers had withdrawn themselves from Stuckey and had refused him the kiss of peace and spiritual fellowship (*entzogen in Kuss und geistlicher Gemeinschaft*). John K. Yoder added that since they had withdrawn from Stuckey, the head of the congregation, it would be in accord with that action to withdraw also from his colaborers in the ministry. This action of the committee, later regretted by many, aroused the sympathy of entire Illinois congregations for Stuckey and his fellow ministers, and as mentioned above, led to the founding of the Central Conference of Mennonites which today constitutes the Central District Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church.

In the afternoon session of the third day several ministers advocated more visiting among the churches. John K. Yoder agreed that such visits would be edifying and that much good had been accomplished in that way. He insisted, however, that no minister should be compelled to do such visiting but that he should do it of his own free will. He believed also that a minister should not wait until someone sent for him, but that he would feel better if he went of his own accord.

The 1874 conference was held at the residence of John Conrad in Washington county, Iowa. Following the usual practice the committee on arrangements seems to have selected a place where a large barn could accaccommodate not only the large number of visitors coming from near and far in the flat-topped Amish carriages and buggies or in farm wagons, but also the horses that drew the vehicles. On the afternoon of the first day

John K. Yoder preached what might be called the conference sermon on "The Grace and Blessing of God." On motion by Joseph Schlegel of Henry county, Iowa, John K. Yoder was unanimously elected moderator and Christian Schlegel of Livingston county, Illinois, assistant. On the last day of conference Yoder gave a farewell address on II Peter 1:14. The secretary reports that he gave a very earnest address to all his hearers and closed with a strong appeal to the young people. Only two Wayne county ministers were present at this conference: John K. Yoder of Orrville, and John Smiley of Weilersville.

The 1875 conference was held at the home of Christian Sutter of Tazewell county, Illinois. John K. Yoder made the opening address and led in prayer. The record calls it a powerful introductory address (*eine kräftige Einleitungsrede*). On motion by Christian Naffziger, John P. King was elected moderator and John Smiley of Wayne county, Ohio, assistant. On the second day of conference John K. Yoder was appointed member of a committee to consider the question whether it was right according to God's Word for a brother to be a stockholder in a bank and to receive money at a low rate of interest to lend it again at a high rate of interest. The committee in bringing its report divided the question. First, they condemned it as unevangelical for a member to be a stockholder in a bank. Second, they declared it unevangelical (that is, contrary to Scripture) to receive money at a low rate of interest and to lend it again at a high rate. This would be wrong because it would be exacting usury.

On the third day of conference John K. Yoder spoke on a question submitted to conference: "Is it right to sing spiritual songs at a funeral?" Both he and John P. King presented a number of examples to show that it is comforting to the bereaved and suitable at times. John K. Yoder mentioned an instance of a young sister who, before her death, had selected the hymns to be sung at her funeral and declared that he would be willing to allow it. The conference finally adopted the following resolution: "Since it is neither the purpose nor the object of the conference to make laws, we will leave it to each congregation to decide whether hymns are to be sung at a funeral, and we ask everyone to bear with such decision (*verträglich zu sein*)." The conference, however, condemned the use of musical instruments in worship services. The conference also considered the propriety of patenting an invention in order to make a fortune out of it. First, the conference opposed allowing a minister to work at such things; but they voted to allow a layman who had talent in this respect to exercise his gift. They stated that they found no Scripture against patenting an invention provided the inventor did not receive exorbitant income from it. John K. Yoder emphasized that part of the resolution which denied to ministers the right to spend their time in such activity.

The moderator, John P. King, his assistant, John Smiley, and John K. Yoder asked to have a committee appointed to investigate certain difficulties in the Logan county, Ohio, congregation. About twenty-five of John P. King's members had left his congregation at South Union to unite with the Warye-Plank congregation at Walnut Grove where the discipline was less strict in some respects. Several young men had transferred their membership to the latter congregation which permitted them to use top buggies. (In King's congregation unmarried men were required to use only topless vehicles.) At the close of conference John K. Yoder gave a lengthy admonition, farewell address, and prayer. At this conference only four Ohio ministers were present: John K. Yoder of Orrville; John Smiley of Smithville; John P. King of West Liberty, and Moses Stutzman of Kennard. The latter, a former resident of Logan county where he had been a

colaborer of John P. King, had moved to Champaign county to the congregation of Bishop John Warye who favored a more liberal interpretation of the traditional Amish regulations.

The 1876 conference was held in Fulton county, Ohio, at the residence of Peter Schad (Short). Nicholas King of Fulton county nominated Samuel Yoder of Pennsylvania moderator, and Christian K. Yoder (John K. Yoder's brother who had now moved to West Liberty, Ohio), assistant. Bishop John K. Yoder was not present at this conference. Wayne county ministers present were: Jacob King, David Z. Yoder (son of John K. Yoder), and Jonathan Smucker of Orrville; John Smiley and Peter Blough, Smithville. No conference was held in 1877.

The last general conference of Amish Mennonite ministers was held in 1878 near Eureka, Woodford county, Illinois. The opening address on the morning of the first day was delivered by John K. Yoder and in the afternoon he delivered an expository sermon on Acts 3. When conference was organized on the morning of the second day, Yoder was nominated moderator by Christian Rupp of McLean county, Illinois, and was unanimously elected. Yoder then chose as his assistant, Joseph Schlegel of Iowa. In the afternoon the moderator made an earnest address on attempting to find better ways and means to enforce the resolutions of conference and to make them serve to the edification of the congregations. John Smiley of Ohio, Samuel Yoder of Pennsylvania, and Christian Schertz, Christian Nafziger, and Christian Rupp, all of Illinois, were appointed a committee to find such ways and means. The committee brought in the following resolution which was adopted by the conference: "We recognize that all difficulties should first be investigated in the congregation where they arise and that all diligence should be exercised to smooth out the difficulty there, and if it cannot be adjusted there, then it is to be brought before the district council (*Distrikt-Versammlung*) in the same district where the difficulty first arose, wherever such a council is or is held. The matter shall be brought before the council of the congregation, and then if it cannot be adjusted it is to be brought before the general conference with the counsel of the congregation." The meaning of the resolution seems a bit obscure, but the intent plainly is that in case of difficulty the matter is to be settled in the local congregation. If that fails it goes to the combined congregations living in a certain county, area, or district. Failing of settlement here, it is to be presented finally to the general conference.

On the afternoon of the third day a committee was appointed to examine witnesses in regard to John P. King's circumstances. The committee reported as follows: "We as a committee cannot, from the testimony we have heard, either set him free or pronounce him in error and we advise that a committee should be sent to investigate the matter where it arose." The next afternoon John K. Yoder presented to the conference the reasons for changing the method of taking up questions in the future. The report does not state what the new arrangements were but Yoder probably was referring to the report of the committee on the second day in regard to better ways and means for enforcing the conference resolutions. Only four Ohio ministers were present at the 1878 conference: John K. Yoder of Orrville; John Smiley of Smithville; Christian K. Yoder and Moses Stutzman of West Liberty.

This was the last general conference of Amish Mennonite ministers. It was followed later in the century by the organization of separate sectional or state (district) conferences: Indiana A.M., 1888; Western A.M., 1890; Ohio A.M., 1893 (Pennsylvania and Ohio A.M., 1897; and eventually (1904) Eastern A.M., including Maryland and Virginia congregations).

APPENDIX E

OFFICERS OF THE AMISH GENERAL CONFERENCE (1862-1878)

Place	Date	Moderators	Secretaries
Wayne county, Ohio	June 9-12, 1862	(Solomon Yoder, Md.) Jonathan Yoder, Ill. John Ehsch, Pa.	Solomon K. Beyler Samuel Yoder Enoch Zug John Herzler
Belleville, Pa.	May 25-27, 1863	Abner Yoder, Pa. Jonathan Yoder, Ill.	J. K. Herzler S[em]. Zug
Near Goshen, Indiana	June 16-18, 1864	John K. Yoder, Ohio Mose Miller, Ohio	S[em]. Zug J. K. Herzler
Wayne county, Ohio	June 5-7, 1865		
(Reports of above conferences were printed by John Baer's Sons, Lancaster, Pa.)			
Residence of John Struphar, Danvers, McLean Co., Ill.	May 20-23, 1866	Samuel Yoder, Pa. John K. Yoder, Ohio	Benjamin Eicher, Iowa George Z. Boller, Ind.
(Report printed at office of **Herald of Truth, Chicago**)			
Residence of John D. Yoder, West Liberty, Ohio	June 9-12, 1867	Elias Riehl, Pa. Abraham Mast, Ohio	C. F. Detweiler, Pa. S. S. Hertzler, Pa.
(Report printed at office of **Herald of Truth,** Chicago)			
Near Belleville, Mifflin Co., Pa.	May 31- June 3, 1868	John K. Yoder, Ohio Sem King, Lawrence Co., Pa.	C. F. Detweiler, Pa. J. K. Hertzler, McVeytown, Pa.
(Report printed by John Baer's Sons, Lancaster, Pa.)			
Residence of C. C. Stutzman, Walnut Creek, Ohio	May 16-18, 1869	Samuel Yoder, Pa. Joseph Burkey, Ill.	Abraham Mast, Ohio S. S. Hertzler, Ohio
Residence of Chris. Shantz, Fulton Co., Ohio	June 5-8, 1870	John P. King, Ohio John K. Yoder, Ohio	Geo. Z. Boller, Ind. Christian Weiss, Ohio
A.M. Meetinghouse, Livingston Co., Illinois	May 28-31, 1871	Samuel Yoder, Pa. Paul Herschberger, Iowa	Joseph Stauffer, Ill. John Peter-Schmitt, Ill.
(Reports for 1869, 1870, and 1871 printed by John F. Funk and Brother, Elkhart)			
Residence of Samuel D. Miller, Lagrange Co., Ind.	May 19-22, 1872	John P. King, Ohio David Zug, Pa.	Christoph Hooley, Ind. John Peter-Schmitt, Ill.
Home of Christian Yoder, Orrville, Ohio	June 1-4, 1873	Samuel Yoder, Pa. Christian Werey, Ind.	John Peter-Schmitt, Ill. Benjamin Gerig, Ohio
Residence of John Conrad, Washington Co., Iowa	May 24-27, 1874	John K. Yoder, Ohio Christian Schlegel, Ill.	Geo. Z. Boller, Ind. Paul P. Herschberger, Iowa
Residence of Christian Sutter, Hopedale, Ill.	May 16-19, 1875	John P. King, Ohio John Smiley, Ohio	John Peter-Schmitt, Ill. Joseph Burckey, Ill.
Residence of Peter Schad, Archbold, Ohio	June 4-7, 1876	Samuel Yoder, Pa. C. K. Yoder, Ohio	Jeptha Wyse, Ohio Christian Wyse, Ohio
Near Eureka, Woodford Co., Illinois	June 9-12, 1878	John K. Yoder, Ohio Joseph Schlegel, Iowa	Joseph Rediger, Ill. Joseph Birky, Ill.

(Reports for the years 1875, 1876, and 1878, possibly also those for the years 1872, 1873, and 1874, were printed by the Mennonite Publishing Company, Elkhart, Indiana. All of the reports, 1862-1878, are on file in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College.)

Conrad Grebel, c. 1498-1526: The Founder of the Swiss Brethren, Sometimes Called Anabaptists. By Harold S. Bender. Goshen: The Mennonite Historical Society, 1950. Pp. xvi, 327. $3.50.

Let us first of all review the outlines of Grebel's life, as it has been reconstructed for the first time by Harold S. Bender. Born about 1498 in Zürich, Conrad Grebel belonged to a long-established patrician family of the city. From 1514 to 1520 he studied the humanistic disciplines in Basel, Vienna, and Paris. In Paris he learned Greek. He became well acquainted with both Greek and Latin classical authors. Two of the leading humanists of the time were his teachers: in Vienna Vadian, in Basel and Paris Glarean. After his return to Zürich in 1520 Grebel came under Zwingli's influence, becoming one of the Reformer's closest and most-appreciated friends.

In Zürich the city council ordered the preaching of the Gospel, *i.e.*, the Reformation was officially introduced, in January, 1523, following the so-called First Disputation, although the Catholic mass and the use of images were retained. Then in the following summer there arose a demand for their abolition, which it was hoped the Second Disputation, convoked in October, 1523, would bring about. When the Disputation took place, however, the changes were not made. On the contrary, the council ordered that the abolition of the mass and the removal of the images should be further postponed. When Zwingli accepted this decision Grebel and his friends, in whose circle Felix Manz already belonged, were deeply disappointed by the Reformer's behavior. They felt that Zwingli had delivered the fate of the church of Christ in Zürich into the hands of the civil authorities. This caused their break with Zwingli. Grebel and his fellows decided to found a new Christian fellowship, to be built up along the lines of the New Testament *ekklesia*. The first adult baptism was administered by Grebel to George Blaurock in late January, 1525. That was the beginning of the Anabaptist movement.

When the meetings of the "Brethren" were forbidden by the Zürich council, Grebel left the city and became a wandering preacher. Spring found him in St. Gallen, where his message called forth a strong echo. The ninth of April, 1525, when he baptized a great crowd in the Sitter near St. Gallen, was one of the high points of his brief life. From June to October he was active most effectively in the county of Grüningen in Zürich's Oberland. In the fall he was captured and imprisoned, but was able to escape and make his way to eastern Switzerland. He died of the pest in the summer of 1526, at the age of 28, in Maienfeld (Graubünden). Had he been able to return to Zürich, he would most certainly have died a martyr's death there as did Felix Manz.

Zürich was thus the cradle of the Anabaptism of the century of the Reformation. The Anabaptists themselves were sure of this, as I can confirm with testimony which has thus far been unnoticed. On April 17, 1559, a discussion took place in Eibenschütz (southern Moravia) between Anabaptists and representatives of the Unitas Fratrum. The Anabaptists were asked, "where their Unity [brotherhood] arose and how long it has been in existence. They said that their Unity began about 36 years ago in the time of Ulrich Zwingli."[1] The Anabaptists of Eibenschütz had retained a clear recollection of the origins of their movement in Zürich. However, Conrad Grebel's name seems to have been forgotten relatively

1 *Zeitschrift für Brüdergeschichte* (1910) 207.

soon. Zwingli had thought of Grebel as the leading spirit of the movement; in the Bern Disputation of 1538 Grebel is referred to as the "first Anabaptist," and the *Geschichtsbuch* of the Hutterian brethren, written at about the same time, reports that Grebel administered the first baptism. But then Grebel's name disappeared almost completely, even within the historiography of the Anabaptists themselves. The same is true of the memory of the other earliest leaders, Manz and Blaurock, whose names as well were forgotten.

Not until the era of modern Anabaptist research, beginning with Heberle's "Die Anfänge des Anabaptismus in der Schweiz,"[2] was the significance of Grebel and his associates measured. Heberle's article was followed by smaller studies concerning Grebel by Max Staub, Christian Neff, Ernst Correll, and others, but there was still no scholarly Grebel biography. It is the merit of Harold S. Bender to have filled this gap and to have given us the definitive treatment of the life and work of the first Anabaptist.

Several points of importance for the study of Anabaptism as a whole should be noted out of the book's rich store of information. Heinrich Bullinger wrote that Grebel, Manz, and others had visited Thomas Müntzer, as he was staying in Griessen near Schaffhausen late in 1524; this report has been repeated by historians as recent as Emil Egli and Walther Köhler. Bender shows that Zwingli knew nothing of such a personal contact between Grebel and Müntzer, and that even Bullinger knows nothing of it in his book, *Von der Widertöufferen Ursprung . . .* (1560). The report appears first in the aged Bullinger's history of the Reformation (1572) and must be evaluated as a polemic invention. In the same context[3] Bullinger says further that Grebel and Manz had "taken over their rebaptism from Müntzer." As Bender demonstrates, this is impossible, since Müntzer always practiced infant baptism and never refers to adult baptism in his writings.

The question of the origin of the idea of adult baptism is easily answered. Grebel and Manz declare expressly that Zwingli himself had led them to their position. It is true that Zwingli criticized infant baptism in 1523. He was not alone in this attitude; doubts about the baptism of small children were quite general in the early years of the Reformation. The Reformers taught that only personal faith makes an individual a Christian. The baptism of infants, which hitherto had been justified and administered as *opus operatum,* had to become dubious. This was the case for instance with Vadian and Oecolampad, who still rejected infant baptism in 1524. Then Zwingli modified his position and retained infant baptism, in order to retain the *Volkskirche,* and was followed by Vadian and Oecolampad. Grebel and his friends could not go along with this later deviation of their master, holding instead to his original insight.

The same is true with reference to the doctrine of the church. In his earliest anti-Catholic writings Zwingli had spoken of the Christian church as necessarily persecuted and suffering. Later, after he himself had become a responsible churchman, he let this idea fall into the background. Grebel, for his part, continued to build on Zwingli's original view of the church. Thus Grebel's thinking is nothing more than the development of doctrines which he had received from Zwingli. The same observation can be made concerning his nonresistance. Zwingli had stood for a kind of pacifism, which he had taken over from Erasmus. With Erasmus, he approved of defensive war, but rejected all aggression. In Zwingli's com-

2 *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* (1858) 3:225 ff.
3 *Heinrich Bullingers Reformationsgeschichte* (1838 ff.) 1:237.

pany Grebel may have become acquainted with Erasmian pacifism. He did not stop there, however, but went on to reject all warfare. This complete nonresistance was first advocated by Grebel in his letter to Thomas Müntzer in September, 1524. Grebel does not base his conviction on the Sermon on the Mount—in fact the Sermon on the Mount is never cited in the known writings of Grebel[4]—but on the nature of the Christian church as necessarily a nonresistant and suffering minority.

It was in the discovery of a new view of the Church—namely, that of the New Testament—that Grebel found the courage to go beyond Zwingli. Zwingli himself had helped him to this discovery, but Grebel worked out independently the implications of the impetus he had received. Grebel's theology is thus in part a consistently developed, one might say "radicalized" Zwinglianism. This is true of his doctrines of the church, of baptism, and of nonresistance. At other points Grebel retained permanently Zwingli's views, concerning for instance justification by faith alone, the symbolic understanding of the sacraments, and the sole authority of Scripture. Zwingli himself insisted that there was no difference between the Zürich Anabaptists and himself in the principal question of Christian dogma. Bender is right in saying (p. 204) that "Conrad Grebel was thoroughly evangelical in the same sense that Luther and Zwingli were." Thereby we have also answered the question of the origin of Anabaptism. It has its roots not in the Middle Ages; neither in the Waldenses nor the Hussites, as Ludwig Keller claimed; nor in the Franciscan Tertiaries, as Albrecht Ritschl supposed; but in the Reformation. Anabaptism is, as Bender says, "the fourth major Reformation type" (p. 212).

Not only Grebel's doctrine, but his person as well, has been the object of depreciation and insult, even in recent times. He has been decried as a stubborn, fanatic sectarian. A completely different picture arises out of Bender's treatment. Grebel takes shape as a man of character who must bear suffering, persecution, and dishonor, but nevertheless goes his way with confidence. Grebel's unshakableness is not that of a fanatic. Grebel has a clearly thought-out goal; he wants to overcome the "misunderstanding of the church"—as we could say with Emil Brunner, and to build a brotherhood of believers; and he knows that in so doing he is acting in line with the New Testament. His vision is that of a church separated from the state, based upon voluntary membership. This is a mature, purely religious goal. Emil Egli has reproached Grebel with having carried on social agitation among the peasants of the Zürich countryside. That is the opposite of the truth. Grebel would have had an excellent opportunity, as he preached in the Oberland in the summer of 1525, to stir up the peasants, who were restless because of their economic difficulties, against the authorities. He withstood this temptation. He preached to the peasants, not of tithes and interest, but of conversion, baptism, and the church. This unerring, faith-driven clarity of direction in the work of a man only 27 years old is extremely impressive and commanding of respect. We have a debt of gratitude to Grebel's biographer for having described not only Grebel's work, but also his personality.

Bender's work appeared in 1950. Since then Anabaptist research has taken powerful strides, but Bender's results have only been confirmed.[5] Grebel's life was brief and the available sources are meager. Bender's artistry in drawing from this very limited material such a complete and living

4 Bender remarks rightly that it is erroneous to ascribe a "Sermon on the Mount Ethic" to Grebel. Grebel was not affected in any immediate way by Erasmus.

5 Only a few dates in Chapter VIII need modification in line with the Zürich *Täuferakten*, and it has since been shown that the "Protestation" is to be ascribed to Manz instead of Grebel. Cf. Walter Schmid in *Zwingliana* (1950) 9:139 ff.

description is all the more astonishing. This was possible only because he did not leave even the smallest fact undiscovered, but took account of every shading in the texts and traced down even the remotest hints. Shrewd observation, industry, and inspiration have brought forth a book which I consider a model for works of its kind. Bender's choice of sources is exemplary; he bases his exposition not first of all on antagonistic reports, but in so far as possible on Grebel's own statements, in writings, letters, and trial records. This methodological principle, which one should be able to take for granted, has ever and again been forgotten by students of Anabaptist history. Exemplary as well are the loving care with which even the finest details are brought to light, and the unpolemic, matter-of-fact tone of the whole work.

It is to be hoped that the volume announced by Professor Bender, bringing Grebel's writings in the original with English translation and critical annotation, will soon appear. But above all may I express the wish that Harold S. Bender's monograph be made accessible to a non-English readership in a German translation.

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A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature (A translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch . . .*, 4th Revised and Augmented Edition, 1952). By William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., Cambridge at the University Press, 1957. Pp. xxxvi, 909. $14.00.

The teacher of New Testament Greek exegesis has long been handicapped by the lack of a convenient lexicon to recommend to his students. Grimm-Thayer is fairly reliable as far as usage is concerned, but not so reliable when it comes to etymology, and furthermore, is nearing its 100th birthday. This meant that for the evidence of the papyri the student had to be referred to the able but separate volume by Moulton and Milligan. No lexicon was available in English which gave the evidence from the Apostolic Fathers, whose vocabulary at times throws some illumination on New Testament usage.

Erwin Preuschen's lexicon (1910) was the first to appear after the epoch-making discoveries of papyri around 1890. While he included for the first time the words of the Apostolic Fathers, his treatment of the newly found treasures of the papyri was disappointing. Upon Preuschen's death, Walter Bauer was entrusted with the revision of Preuschen's work and this appeared in 1928. In 1952 the fourth edition of Bauer's revision was published, and each edition has in turn been hailed as the best yet. Advanced students with ability to read German have always been aware that Bauer had no peer.

In view of the above it is quite natural that the publication of this translation of Bauer has been eagerly awaited and hailed with profound gratitude by all interested in Biblical studies. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod has set a most noble example in providing a generous financial contribution to make this work possible. W. F. Arndt, late Professor of New Testament at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, and F. W. Gingrich, Professor of Greek and Religion at Albright College, Reading, Pennsylvania, performed the tedious work of translation.

The value of Bauer's lexicon is, first of all, that it is based on the best available text, the latest edition of Nestle. Since it is an unabridged lexicon it treats fully the words of the New Testament, but in addition to the

canonical books of the New Testament it treats also the writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the Septuagint, the vocabulary of the papyri, and the classical Greek usage. This is the first time that all of these have been made available to the student in one book. In addition to the word usage, a convenient bibliography is appended to many entries, to point the student to important discussions of the meaning of a given term. In the present work the translators have gone beyond Bauer by adding some words not used by Bauer (such as those of Papias), by bringing the bibliographical notations up to date (late 1954), and by making some changes in the arrangement and mechanical make-up. The most important of these changes is the indention of each new meaning or usage occurring under a given word, which facilitates greatly seeing at a glance the number of meanings and finding them.

If the reviewer may be pardoned the audacity to criticize such an extraordinary publication, he would raise the question whether justice has been done to Bauer on the title page and especially on the spine of the book. After all, the work is still that of Walter Bauer, as the translators admit in the preface. If "the departures from Bauer's general sense have been few and far between" (p. vi), we ought by all means to refer to this as Bauer's lexicon, for it is he that deserves the unmitigated praise for his prodigious labor and his accurate scholarly eye. It is characteristic of Bauer's greatness that his name did not appear alone on his revisions of Preuschen until the third edition (1937).

Apart from etymology, where the student will still need to consult Liddell and Scott, this is now the tool which meets all the needs of the student in the exegesis of the New Testament. It is a tool which has been used with profit for years and will surely displace all other lexicons. Especially gratifying is the inclusion of the Introduction written by Bauer himself, which is omitted in the later German editions. Even the price seems reasonable for such an important book.

The translation of this classic lexicon into English shows what can be done by one denomination which uses its financial resources for a worthy scholarly project. Perhaps the translation of even so massive a work as Kittel's *Wörterbuch* could be made possible if English-speaking Christendom would rally around the project.

Princeton, N.J. WILLIAM KLASSEN